RAPHAEL:

HIS LIFE, WORKS, AND TIMES

EUGÈNE MÜNTZ

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RAPHAEL

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His Life, Works, and Times

BY

EUGÈNE MUNTZ

ILLUSTRATED WITH ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHT ENGRAVINGS

TRANSLATED BY

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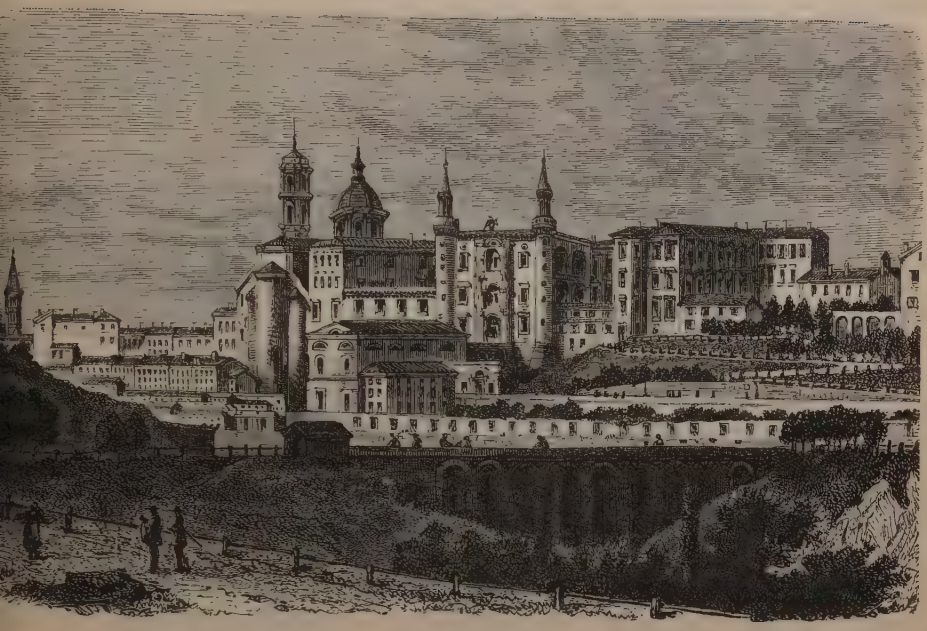


VIEW OF URBINO.

CHAPTER I

THE little duchy of Urbino, which had the honour of giving birth at a few years' interval to the greatest of modern architects and the greatest of modern painters, Bramante and Raphael, is situated in the centre of the Apennines, at the point where Tuscany and Umbria meet. Few Italian provinces have more varied scenery, for there fertile and smiling hills suddenly start up into abrupt mountains; and while in one place the horizon is shut in by fantastic peaks, in another the eye can penetrate to the vast panorama of the Adriatic.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the duchy of Urbino was governed by the valiant and enlightened dynasty of the Montefeltros. Duke Frederick, who died in 1482, a year before the birth of Raphael, had fascinated all Italy by his exploits and splendour. He was a commander of the highest order, the worthy pupil of Piccinino, and the almost invariably successful adversary of Sigismund Malatesta, the "enemy of God and man." The Montefeltros were not ashamed to be mercenaries, or condottieri, and the title of Gonfalonier of the Church, conferred in later years upon the son of

Duke Frederick by Pope Julius II., was only a complimentary one. But no one could have carried out his engagements with more chivalrous fidelity and dignity than Frederick, whose court was frequented by young Italian noblemen who wished to become familiar with all that belongs to a soldier's calling, and to fit themselves for the duties of statesmanship.

Frederick of Urbino's chief claim, however, to the regard of his contemporaries and of posterity was the protection which he extended to literature and art. His was the golden age of the Renaissance, and the sincerity of his enthusiasm and the great sacrifices which he made for it have won for Duke Frederick of Montefeltro a place beside its two noblest champions, Pope Nicholas V. and King Alfonso V. of Naples. M. Rio, in his work on Christian Art, puts the Urbinate prince even above the Medicis, for it is difficult to believe that the encouragement given to new ideas by those financiers, who were so eager to place their country under the yoke of despotism, could have been exempt from selfish calculations, while the Duke of Urbino had no need for devices to secure the affections of his subjects, whose cry of "God preserve our good Duke" came from the bottom of their hearts.

Vespasiano de' Bisticci, the biographer of Frederick, relates several facts which prove the fondness of the duke for literature, science and art. He spent thirty thousand gold ducats upon the formation of a library; but it is worthy of note that he shared the prejudices of many of his contemporaries with regard to printed works, which were just beginning to circulate in Italy, and nothing would have induced him to admit one of them into it.

Frederick's son, Guidobaldo, born in 1472, carried on the traditions of his father. Brought up by the learned Martinengo, he displayed from his earliest days a fondness for study, and both literature and art found in him a hearty patron. His courage and good sense endeared him to his subjects, while his wife, Elisabetta Gonzaga, daughter of the Marchese di Mantua, helped, by her beauty and grace, to consolidate his hold upon their affections. The inhabitants of Urbino showed how attached they were to him when they rose, in 1503, against the tyranny of Cæsar Borgia and brought Guidobaldo back.

The patient researches of a scholar of Urbino, Father Louis Pungileoni, have procured for us a very complete acquaintance with the family history of Raphael. His family belonged to a large village called Colbordolo, some few miles from the capital, and a person named Santi is known to have lived there in the fourteenth century.

One of his descendants, the great-grandfather of Raphael, Pietro or Peruzzolo, was a merchant at Colbordolo a century later, and after the

RAPHAEL'S BIRTHPLACE.

pillage of his house and lands by Sigismund Malatesta, in 1446, the fear of a second attack induced him to go and live in Urbino in 1450. He died there seven years later, and his son carried on his business, also opening a shop for the sale of grocery, hardware, and

so forth. His trade seems to have prospered, for he had saved enough by 1463 to buy for 200 ducats, a house, or rather two houses situated close together, in one of those steep streets of which there are so many at Urbino, the Contrada del Monte.[1] This modest dwelling was destined to become famous, for it was here that Raphael was born; and in the seventeenth century, an architect of Urbino, Muzio Oddi, having purchased one of the houses, put up a tablet with the following Latin inscription, in which the humble aspect of the house is compared with the imperishable memories connected with it:

NVNQVAM MORITVRVS
EXIGVIS HISCE IN ÆDIBVS
EXIMIVS ILLE PICTOR
RAPHAEL
NATVS EST
OCT. ID. APR. AN.
MCDXXCIII
VENERARE IGITVR HOSPES
NOMEN ET GENIVM LOCI
NE MIRERE
LVDIT IN HVMANIS DIVINA POTENTIA REBVS.
ET SÆPE IN PARVIS CLAVDERE MAGNA SOLET.

The birthplace of Raphael now belongs to the Academy of Urbino, which purchased it, in 1873, with the money resulting from a subscription started by the late Count Pompeo Gherardi, to which Mr. Morris Moore contributed 200 guineas.[2]

In a letter addressed to Duke Guidobaldo, Giovanni Santi, the son of Santi and the father of Raphael, dwells in some detail upon the difficulties of his early life, beginning with the destruction of his home by Sigismund Malatesta, and going on to speak of the hard work he had to earn a livelihood. He ultimately selected the noblest of careers, that of an artist, and he becomes enthusiastic when he speaks of the marvellous and very famous art of painting (*la mirabile, la clarissima arte de pictura*). Notwithstanding the anxieties arising from the maintenance of his family, he did not regret his decision though he often found very heavy a burden which, to use his own words, would have appalled Atlas himself.

[1] The street is now called Contrada di Raffaello.

[2] The total cost was 800*l*. Ingres, who had the utmost veneration for all that related to his favourite master, made a drawing of Raphael's house, which was published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1861, vol. ii. p. 45.

At what date Giovanni Santi began to work on his own account is uncertain, but we know that by the year 1469 he had his studio at Urbino, and in that year he was entrusted with the duty of receiving as a guest Piero della Francesca, one of the most famous representatives of the Florentine School, who had been summoned by the Brotherhood of the Corpus Domini to execute an altarpiece. Thinking that he would be more comfortable in the house of a fellow artist than at an inn, they asked Santi to lodge him, and though the latter's pride must have suffered at finding a stranger selected to paint in the city in preference to himself, he received the Florentine with a good grace, and afterwards praised his talents in his *Rhymed Chronicle of Urbino.*

Giovanni Santi was, in all likelihood, past his first youth when he married Magia Ciarla, the daughter of a well-to-do tradesman of Urbino, who brought him a dowry of 150 florins, which is equivalent to 150*l.* or 200*l.* of our money.

From this marriage was born on March 28, 1483, the boy who was destined to shed such lustre on the name of Santi. Two other children, a boy and a girl, died in infancy.

The first picture which Giovanni Santi painted after the birth of his son was an altarpiece for the Church of Gradara, and in this work, which was completed on April 10, 1484, when Raphael was only a year old, the face of Jesus, who is represented as sitting on his mother's knee, is very beautiful. His face, figure and attitude, all remind us of the "putti" which are to be found in so many of Raphael's compositions, and which are the most perfect expression of infancy. Another painting, a fresco still preserved in the house of the Santis, represents a young woman sitting in front of a desk and holding on her knees a child asleep with his head resting on his left arm (see p. 6). Much injured as this picture is, it still retains traces of its primitive beauty, and the marked individuality of the features, coupled with the absence of a halo, justifies the belief that this is a picture not of the Virgin and Child but of the painter's wife and son.[1]

In 1485 Giovanni Santi lost, at a few weeks' interval, his father and one of his sons, probably older than Raphael; and the archives of Urbino give us some idea as to the pecuniary position of the family at this period. The father of Giovanni left his two daughters a hundred ducats each, to his son Bartolommeo, who was a priest, seventy ducats, and the remainder of his fortune, including his house,

[1] This opinion is held by the most competent judges, such, for instance, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

to Giovanni himself. His widow, Elisabetta, continued to live with her son Giovanni, who also found room for his sister Santa when she lost her husband, who was a tailor by trade. Santa had a little money of her own, and as Giovanni earned a certain amount, their position was relatively prosperous. But fresh trouble was in store for him, as his mother died on October 3, 1491, her death being followed only four days later by that of his beloved wife, while on

RAPHAEL AND HIS MOTHER.

the 25th of the same month his infant daughter also died. Raphael at that time was only eight years old.

Giovanni found a solitary life unendurable, and a few months later, on May 25, 1492, he contracted a new marriage, his second wife, Bernardina Parte, daughter of a goldsmith at Urbino, bringing him a dowry of 200 florins. From the disputes which afterwards occurred between Bernardina and her husband's family it is to be inferred that she was not of so gentle a disposition as Magia, and that she was scarcely a mother to Raphael. The union, however, was not of long duration, for Giovanni died two years after his second marriage, on August 1, 1494. In his will, dictated two days before

his death, he appointed his brother Bartolommeo guardian of Raphael and of the child of which his wife was expecting to be delivered, providing that she should have the use of the house as long as she remained a widow. The total amount of his property was 860 florins.

Some documents recently discovered by the Marchese Campori, of Modena, throw fresh light upon the history of Raphael's father during the last years of his life, showing that he was in communication with the princely family,[1] and that the Duchess Elisabetta had employed him to paint her portrait and that of some one attached to the court of the Gonzagas, probably Bishop Louis of Mantua. His death prevented him from completing these two works, and the letter by which the Duchess announced the sad news to her sister-in-law, the Marchesa di Mantua (August 19, 1494), proves that he was no stranger to her, for she writes, "Giovanni de' Santi, painter, succumbed about three weeks ago; he died in full possession of his senses, and at peace with all men. May God have mercy on his soul!"

A letter written seven weeks later (October 13, 1494) gives further details. This letter is written by the Duchess to her brother, the Marchese di Mantua, and she says: "In reply to the despatch which Your Excellency sent me, I write to inform you that when Giovanni Santi was with you he was too ill to complete the portrait, and the same reason prevented him from going on with mine. If Your Excellency will send me a plate like the others, I will have my portrait painted upon it by a skilful artist whom I am expecting here, and send it to you as soon as it is finished. . . . I have ordered the companion of the said Giovanni to make search for it diligently, but he tells me that he can find nothing."

When, ten years later, the sister-in-law of Duchess Elisabetta, Jeanne di Montefeltro, spoke in a letter of introduction which she gave Raphael for the Gonfalonier Pietro Soderini, of Florence, of

[1] If the conjecture of the *Inventaire des autographes et des documents historiques composant la collection de M. Benjamin Fillon*, séries ix. et x. (Paris, 1879, p. 125) is correct, Giovanni Santi must have been attached in 1483 to the household of Duke Guidobaldo. As a matter of fact, the physician of the duke, Antonio Braccaleone, in a letter from Urbino, dated May 10, 1483, speaks of a portrait painted by the duke's painter, "who is a disciple of the Muses," and we know that Giovanni cultivated poetry as well as painting, for he is the author of some *Chronicles in Rhyme*. It was probably to him, therefore, that Braccaleone alluded. We may mention by the way, that the father of Raphael had already drawn a portrait of Duke Frederick, and this portrait, which is in silver point heightened with white, is in the Christ-Church Collection at Oxford. (Robinson, *A critical account of the drawings by Michael Angelo and Raphael in the University Galleries, Oxford.* Oxford, 1870, p. 314.)

her regard for his father, it was not a mere formality, but the expression of her real sentiments. This, as will be seen hereafter, explains much that was hitherto obscure in Raphael's history.

The town of Urbino and the neighbouring cities, as well as several public galleries, notably the Lateran at Rome, the Brera at Milan, the National Gallery, London, and the Berlin Gallery, still contain pictures by Giovanni Santi. Most of them are Annunciations, Madonnas, Holy Families, or likenesses of apostles or saints. There are a few portraits, too, but the originals are not as a rule known. Santi's art moved in a rather narrow groove, but the spirit of his work and the qualities which he displayed are worthy of respect. He showed, too, that he was familiar with the methods of Paolo Uccello, who was painting at Urbino in 1468; of Piero della Francesca, Andrea Mantegna, Melozzo da Forli, and Perugino. The influence of the two latter is to be traced in nearly all his pictures. His works are full of body and well balanced; what they are mainly deficient in is warmth of tone. There is grace, and in some cases no little energy, in his faces, and his conceptions have an air of sincerity, while here and there may be discerned a touch which reminds one of his son—a part of a head or an attitude which the latter may have unconsciously reproduced years afterwards.

This sketch of the character and talents of Giovanni Santi would be incomplete if we did not say something about the poet as well as the painter. The *Rhymed Chronicle*, which is now in the Vatican Library, has been published in part by Passavant, and provides us with evidence as to his erudition and eclecticism.

At the time of his father's death, Raphael was not twelve years old. There is a certain affinity between the works of father and son. The *Annunciation* in the Brera Museum, that at Cagli, the *St. Jerome* in the Lateran Museum, to mention only well-known works of Giovanni Santi, are remarkable for a purity and harmony of line which dimly foreshadow the immortal painter of the Vatican. It is probable, moreover, that Raphael received lessons from his father, as at that time painters went through an apprenticeship of fifteen years. Mantegna was only seventeen years old when he painted the Virgin in the Church of St. Sophia at Padua; Michael Angelo, who was born in 1475, and entered the studio of Ghirlandajo in 1488, sculptured, when scarcely fifteen, the face of the faun which struck the attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Fra Bartolommeo, born a year or two earlier, was taken into Cosimo Rosselli's studio in 1484, and was only fifteen when he set up on his own account. Perugino, too, entered on his apprenticeship, at the age of nine, and

Andrea del Sarto was but seven when he was apprenticed to a goldsmith. Allowing three or four years for the regular apprenticeship, and as much for the journeyman stage, by sixteen a young man might thus have completed his studies. Supposing Raphael to have been no exception to this rule, he may very well have begun to draw and have received lessons from his father before the latter's death. But it is impossible to accept Vasari's statement that the son assisted the father in the execution of his later works, for he was only eleven years old when his father died, and rapid as the development of his talent may have been, that would have been simply miraculous.

It is probable that the remarkable drawing in the Academy at Venice, the *Massacre of the Innocents*, was executed by Raphael under his father's superintendence. Amid much that is childlike in its inexperience, we can detect a force of inspiration and purity of taste which shows how great was Raphael's promise from his earliest years, and how much he had benefited by his father's teaching.

What we have said as to the tastes of Giovanni Santi renders it certain that his son received, in addition to careful artistic teaching, a sound literary education. The Italian artists of the fifteenth century were, as a rule, less ignorant than is generally supposed, and it would be difficult to name one who could not read or write. Bramante himself, whose education had been much neglected, and who was called "illiterate" by his contemporaries, wrote excellent sonnets, and this will show the extent of knowledge possessed by those who were able to complete their studies. In looking over the collection of autographs of the Italian artists of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance published by Messrs. Milanesi and Pini, we see that the writing is in some instances clumsy, and the spelling incorrect; but there is a vast difference between awkwardness and complete ignorance. Compared with that of his contemporaries Raphael's writing is remarkable for its elegance and correctness. We can see that he was accustomed to the pen. He also learnt the rudiments of Latin. It will be objected, perhaps, that in after years he got his friend Fabio Calvo of Ravenna to translate Vitruvius for him; but there is a great difference between having a general knowledge of a language and being well up in the technical terms which abound in the *Treatise on Architecture*.

By his father's death, Raphael not only lost an instructor and guide, but was compelled to listen to continual disputes about money. Dom Bartolommeo, his uncle and guardian, and his step-mother, to whom had been born a daughter called Elisabetta, so frequently quarrelled about money that the law had to intervene, and without

laying the whole blame upon the widow of Giovanni Santi, it is to be noted that Raphael, when once he had left them, did not keep up any very intimate communication with her or her daughter, and never alludes to them in his letters. Fortunately he was much liked by his mother's family, and his uncle Simone Ciarla showed him kindness, for which he never failed to express his gratitude. When in his letters he speaks of his uncle as being as dear as a father ("carissimo in loco di padre") it was more than one of those formal

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.
(From the Drawing in the Venice Academy.)

expressions, such as were used at that time, and his aunt Santa, his father's sister, who continued to reside in the house after his father's death, also took much interest in his welfare. Raphael in after years gave one of his dearest friends, the Florentine Taddeo Taddei, who proposed to pay a visit to Urbino, a letter of recommendation to her, and it is pleasant to find that the great painter never forgot his humble relatives.

If the money quarrels which followed his father's death left a painful impression upon his early youth, he was at all events exempt from privation. It is true that his inheritance was not large enough to admit of his studying art as a mere amateur, and that he had to fight his way to independence and wealth. But it was something to be able to pursue his studies without being compelled to think of the morrow, as was the case with his future teacher, Perugino, who, according to Vasari, was so poor that for many months he had no bed but a wooden chest.

It was believed until quite recently that Raphael entered the studio of Perugino in 1495, but this date is incorrect, for Perugino, between 1493 and 1499, resided chiefly at Florence, and not at Perugia. Though he may have come to the latter town now and again, he did not stay long, and only took up his residence there towards the end of 1499, when he began the frescoes of the famous *Sala di Cambio*. On the other hand, we know that Raphael was recorded in the registers of Urbino, as being present in his native town on June 5, 1499, and that in the following year the registrar wrote the word "absent" against his name. His admission into the studio of Perugino must, therefore, have been four or five years later than was generally supposed, that is to say, when he was about sixteen years old. But if upon this point preconceived views are erroneous, there is ample confirmation of what has previously been said with regard to his *début* at Perugia, in which town he received his first lessons and acquired the methods of the Umbrian School.

How the interval between the death of Giovanni Santi and Raphael's departure for Perugia was passed we do not know, but perhaps—though it is only a guess—he received lessons from Timoteo Viti, who returned to Urbino in 1495, after having studied for some time at Bologna in the studio of Francia, and this is the more likely as they were very intimate friends.

When Raphael rose to greatness he did not forget the friend of his youth, but sent for him to Rome to assist in the painting of the *Sibyls* in the Pace. After Viti's return to Urbino, he was more than once asked by Raphael to pay him a second visit, as we learn from Vasari, who saw the letters which Raphael wrote to him. It may be added that Viti, who imitated Raphael's style very well, owned a fine collection of drawings given him by the latter, and the finest Raphaels in the Crozat collection were derived from the accumulations which were kept intact until 1714 by Viti's descendants.

It has recently been argued by the senators Morelli and Minghetti, among others, that many pictures and drawings in which little

trace of Peruginesque influence is to be found, were executed by

PORTRAIT OF RAPHAEL.
(Drawing in the University Galleries, Oxford.)

Raphael under the guidance of Viti, and before he had entered Perugino's studio. Among these may be named the *Two Archers*, at

Lille (which is a copy after Signorelli); the *Vision of a Knight*, in the National Gallery; the *Angels at the Tomb of Christ*, at Oxford; and a small Madonna in the same collection (Braun, No. 10). But this theory has been victoriously combated by Springer, who shows that it is the Timoteo of 1504 that is reflected in the *Vision of a Knight*.

CHAPTER II

If in some respects Raphael's new residence was less desirable than Urbino, he was much better off as regards the beauty of the surrounding scenery and the varied nature of the impressions to be derived from it. Here, too, he was able to inhale the bracing mountain air and to gaze upon sites full of poetic beauty. Situated in the heart of Umbria and overlooking the plain, Perugia, the ancient Augusta Perusia, forms as it were the centre of an immense amphitheatre. A good road winds up to the summit of the eminence upon which the town is built, and the view, at an elevation of 1600 feet above the level of the sea, is a very fine one. There are few grander panoramas in all Italy, than that which is to be seen at a short distance from the plantation of thick evergreen-oaks on the Piazza di San-Pietro outside the walls. The view extends without a break on three sides, being only limited in the direction of the town. In the distance is to be seen a sea of undulating mountains, rising one above the other until they form a vast rampart upon the horizon. When the sun lights up these gigantic masses, the eye can detect the smallest undulations of ground and almost count the infrequent spots of verdure upon the rocky soil. But towards evening the landscape is veiled by those delicate mists which lend so much charm to Perugino's pictures—especially to the frescoes of the Cambio—and to the earlier productions of Raphael. At the feet of the spectator extend hills, covered with fig-trees, olive-trees, and vines climbing around the stems of the elms, and white and dusty roads are to be seen winding amidst dark-green and iron-grey foliage.

Looking towards Perugia, the view, though different, is not less picturesque. Houses, palaces, and churches, rise one above the other upon the incline, the highest standing against a background of mountains.

In the fifteenth century, as now, the traffic was almost entirely confined to the square in front of the municipal palace, the Corso. The principal buildings are all crowded into a very small compass.

First there is the Cambio, the hall of the ancient corporation of money-changers, made famous by the frescoes of Perugino. By the side of this edifice, modest in its proportions, rises the Signorial Palace, with its battlements, its long rows of gothic windows divided in half by mullions of red granite and surmounted by white marble copings. In spite of its irregular façade, few Italian buildings are more imposing in appearance ; and among the notable features of the interior is the grand staircase with its two lions in white marble at the foot, emblematic guardians of the public liberties, and at the head its griffin and she-wolf in bronze to perpetuate the memory of the victory won by Perugia over her ancient rival Siena. Recollections of victory in the field are also evoked by the Loggia of the merchants, which was built in 1423 by one of Perugia's bravest sons, the famous condottiere, Braccio Fortebraccio. Then there is the beautiful fountain carved in 1277 by Giovanni Pisano, while at the cathedral, which forms the western boundary of the square, may still be seen the balcony from which St. Bernardino of Siena harangued the vast crowds which flocked in from all parts of Umbria, and who, finding the interior of the building too small, stood outside, as in the time of the Crusades, to listen to the popular preacher. These memories were still fresh when Raphael came to live at Perugia, and they must have taken root in his mind.

Considering the rough manners of the aristocracy and the attachment of the middle classes to the customs and beliefs of another age, the intellectual resources of Perugia must have appeared to the young painter very inferior to those of Urbino, where poetry, science and art were held in such high esteem. It would be a mistake, however, to regard the old Umbrian city as being altogether outside the sphere of the ideas which were then stirring the whole of Italy. Its university had a well-deserved reputation, and in the fifteenth century included amongst its professors one Pope, Sixtus IV., and two others, Pius III. and Julius II., among its students.

From an artistic point of view the difference between Urbino and Perugia was equally great, for while the former was ruled by high-minded princes who exercised an irresistible influence over the whole population, the latter was inhabited by turbulent and bloodthirsty nobles, and by a middle-class population at once laborious and austere. The Montefeltros, moreover, were very tolerant in their views on art, having employed in turn painters of such different schools as Paolo Uccello, Piero della Francesca, Justus of Ghent, Giovanni Santi, Luca Signorelli and Timoteo Viti, while at Perugia there was something like a close body of painters all belonging to one school. In spite of

his long residence at Florence and Rome, Pietro Perugino was deeply attached to the Umbrian school, into which, however, he introduced several fresh elements. The sciences of colouring and perspective were by him carried to a higher pitch of perfection than they had ever been before.

There was something very exclusive and absorbing about Umbrian art, for excursions into the secular world, and above all, into the ancient classics, were forbidden to its adepts by religious scruples, as well as by want of knowledge. Examples of portraiture and purely historical compositions seem also to have been excluded from it.

On the other hand, a painter could be certain that his work would, if executed in good faith, be favourably received in a society so profoundly attached to its religious creed. He knew that the least valuable of his Madonnas, and of his pictures representing Christ on the Cross, would touch many a heart, and that the poorest villages and monasteries would find money for one of these saintly symbols. Humble peasants found it an ample reward for a long life of labour and privation, to present their village church with some picture which would stimulate piety, and a striking instance of this is afforded by the following anecdote :—In 1507, a humble shoemaker of Perugia gave Perugino the order to paint a picture of the Madonna standing between St. Francis and St. Jerome, and the forty-seven ducats which the painter asked were paid without hesitation. The wars and disturbances which marked the close of the fifteenth century, so far from arresting the progress of art, favoured its development by exciting the religious feeling of the people. Again and again Perugino came from Florence to execute some new masterpiece for his native city.

It is to this exuberance of patriotism and piety that we owe what is perhaps the most celebrated of Perugino's works. The Cambio frescoes occupy in his career the place the Vatican *Stanze* do in that of Raphael. The corporation of money-changers at Perugia (*L'arte del Cambio*) had long been anxious to decorate their council-room with exceptional splendour. In 1496 they entrusted the decoration of the roof and the upper part of the wall to Perugino, who promised to finish the work by the year 1500. By the end of 1499 it was all but completed, and it was at this time, probably, that Raphael entered the studio of Perugino.

Pietro Vannucci, surnamed Perugino, though he was born at Città della Pieve, was then at the zenith of his fame and talent. He had a host of pupils and followers, while princes and free cities rivalled each other in their efforts to secure him. The Duke of Milan, the Venetian Republic, and the authorities of Orvieto, simul-

taneously tried in vain to obtain a monopoly of his services. When some ten years before Giovanni Santi in his *Rhymed Chronicles* spoke so warmly of the Umbrian painter he was only anticipating the popular verdict of a later day, and if he had lived there can be no doubt that he would have selected Perugino as the master for his son, who must often have thought of his lines:

> Due giovin par d'etate e par d'onori,
> Leonardo da Vinci e'l Perusino.
> Pier della Pieve ch'è un divin pittore.

The conditions of apprenticeship at the time when Raphael entered the studio of Perugino are well known to us. Parents of apprentices incurred heavy obligations. Thus when the father of Sodoma, in 1490, apprenticed his son, then ten years old, to a painter of no great celebrity, he had to pay a sum of fifty ducats for the term of seven years. The latter, for his part, undertook to lodge, board, and instruct his pupil; and, what is characteristic of the times, to find him clothes. The conditions of the journeymen painters were of course much more favourable for beginners, and when Raphael's compatriot, Timoteo Viti, placed himself under the famous Bologna painter and goldsmith, Francesco Francia, it was agreed that he should work the first year for nothing, that during the second he should receive sixteen florins a quarter, and that afterwards he should work by the piece, with the power of leaving if he pleased. We know, too, that Francia had two separate studios, one for the goldsmith apprentices and the other for the painters. This is how he writes of the departure of Timoteo Viti: "1495, 4th April. Departure of my dear Timoteo. May God pour upon him all manner of good things."

Timoteo Viti was about twenty years of age when he entered Francia's studio, and Raphael about seventeen when he was taken in hand by Perugino; both knew the rudiments of art, and what they wanted from their teachers was rather advice and direction than elementary instruction. Bearing in mind their age, they must have been companions (garzoni) rather than pupils (discepoli).

Perugino's house is still in existence, and is an object of interest to travellers. It is in the Via Deliziosa, No. 18—near the church of San Antonio. Although it has been much altered, one can still form a fair idea of its original plan. The main building is at the foot of a sunny courtyard, flanked on each side by old houses. A low flight of stone steps leads to the entrance-door, above which is placed a head in marble. Inside the door is a sort of hall, the arcades of which

formerly opened on to the courtyard, and even now when the space between the columns has been walled up, one can distinguish the columns themselves. Leading off from the hall are several small rooms, all vaulted and decorated with sculptured medallions, representing foliage and lions' heads from the spring of the arch. The principal room, now divided into two, was probably used as a studio, and next to it are several smaller rooms now converted into bedrooms. The first storey is arranged in the same way as the ground floor, and here too the open arcades looking on the courtyard have been walled up. The back windows look out upon a narrow lane. Small as it is, the house has something original and striking about it, and one can well fancy one's self in the residence of an artist of the fifteenth century.

Perugino and his wife were in comfortable circumstances, for the latter's father had given his daughter a dowry of 500 gold ducats, while Perugino owned houses and land at Florence, Perugia, and Città della Pieve. He had neither the culture nor the vast intelligence of Bramante, Leonardo da Vinci, or Michael Angelo. His letters show that he knew little of orthography, and a report which he prepared at Florence in 1492, after making a valuation, is a tissue of blunders; even from an artistic point of view his abilities did not take a wide sweep. He was a painter and nothing more, whereas most of his contemporaries were more or less proficient as goldsmiths, architects, and sculptors. He had, however, travelled a great deal and been in the society of the most remarkable men of the day, so that he was a pleasant companion for young men such as those he had around him. Vasari states that Raphael from the first became a favourite with his master, while the pupil on his part displayed an almost filial affection for Perugino.

The artists' colony at Perugia consisted at that time of some fifteen painters, more or less rivals or imitators of Perugino, of several goldsmiths and architects, and of a few sculptors and carvers. Their number was small compared with the total of the population, at that time not far short of 40,000. Some of them did work of a very unpretentious kind. Their predecessors, however, had formed themselves into corporations, one of which, the corporation of painters, dated from 1366, and another, the goldsmiths' company, from 1296. The miniature painters' corporation was also of great antiquity.

Among the most eminent painters must be mentioned Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Pinturicchio, both founders of a school. Then came Andrea Luigi, or di Assisi, surnamed "L'Ingegno," an artist famous in his time; Berto di Giovanni, who was entrusted in

1516 with the execution of the decorations intended for the "Coronation of the Virgin," which Raphael was to paint for the nuns of Monteluce; Bartolommeo Caporali and his son, Giovanni Battista, the translator of Vitruvius; Eusebio di San Georgio, whose *St. Sebastian* was long believed to be the work of Raphael; Mariano di ser Eusterio; Ludovico Angeli; Assalone di Ottaviano; Lattanzio di Giovanni; and Giannicola Manni, the painter of the frescoes in the chapel next to the "Sala del Cambio." [1]

When Raphael came to Perugia Perugino's wife, the beautiful Clara Fancelli, daughter of the Marchese di Mantua's famous architect, was still alive. Her portrait may, in the opinion of competent judges, be seen in the splendid Madonna of Pavia, one of the gems of the National Gallery. About this time Raphael probably also met the goldsmith Cesarino di Francesco Rossetti, of Perugia, for whom he afterwards made, while at Rome, drawings for some dishes intended for Agostino Chigi. In a letter written to Domenico Alfani in 1508, the painter speaks of him in very friendly terms. To the painters, whom we know to have been at Perugia while Raphael was studying there, that is to say, between 1499 and 1502, must be added the pupils attracted to the place by the fame of Perugino and those whose acquaintance Raphael afterwards made either at Perugia or in its suburbs; such, for instance, as Giovanni di Pietro, surnamed Lo Spagna, whose works betoken the influence which Perugino and his fellow pupil had exercised, and who afterwards came to Rome and swelled the phalanx of Raphael's assistants; Girolamo Genga da Urbino, who was also with Raphael at Rome, and Domenico di Paris Alfani.

Raphael became especially intimate with Pinturicchio, whose presence at Perugia during the year 1501 is attested by authentic documents. He afterwards followed him to Siena. Pinturicchio, though inferior to Perugino as regards colour and expression, had more imaginative power, and his influence contributed in no small degree to open to Raphael wider horizons than those unfolded to him by Perugino. But if Raphael was indebted to him for good advice, he repaid the debt with interest, as we shall see.

Domenico Alfani, of Perugia, had a still warmer admiration for the young artist. After Raphael's departure, Domenico acted as correspondent for him and represented his interests in Umbria, deeming himself amply rewarded when he received a sketch or drawing in return.

[1] We have made out this list by means of the valuable documents of which an analysis is given in the *Lettere pittoriche Perugine*, by Mariotti.

The most competent judges, notably Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, admit that Raphael took part in the execution of the Cambio frescoes. The council-room of the Cambio is not above forty feet long by twenty wide, and it opens directly upon the street, so that there is no loss of time in entering or leaving—an important consideration for the business men who had the Cambio built. The decoration is simple and elegant, and its principal feature is the harmonious contrast between the paintings of the upper part and the brown inlaid wood-work of the lower part of the walls. This latter is one of the best bits of Renaissance work, and the painter could not possibly have had a better framework for bringing out his colour.

The subjects of the frescoes are as follows: on the roof, personifications of the sun, moon, and planets; on the left side, the most illustrious representatives of Justice, Prudence, Moderation, and Courage; on the right, God the Father, the Prophets, and the Sibyls; on the lower end, the *Nativity* and the *Transfiguration;* while near the entrance was to be depicted the Cato, father of lawgivers.

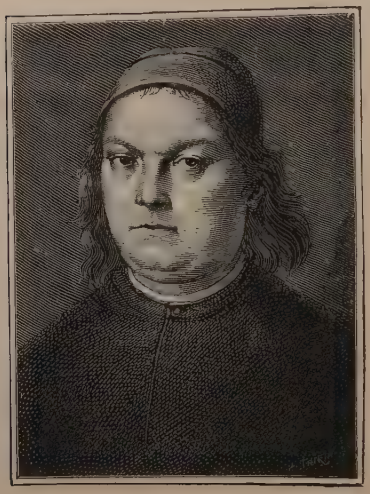
Francesco Maturanzio, professor of rhetoric at the University of Perugia, selected the types. As types of Temperance he gave to the artist, P. Scipio, Pericles, and Cincinnatus; of Courage, L. Licinius, Leonidas, and Horatius Cocles; of Justice, Camillus, Pittacus, and Trajan; and of Prudence, Fabius Maximus and Numa Pompilius.

The pictures are at once strong and delicate in colour, characteristic in design and ill-arranged; instead of forming an animated and living whole, the various personages are simply placed side by side, standing badly and not knowing what to do with their hands.

There is little to be said about the two pictures placed at the lower end of the room, the *Nativity* and the *Transfiguration.* Perugino had often treated the *Nativity,* and the only difference he made at the Cambio was to substitute two shepherds for the two angels placed between the Virgin and St. Joseph, and to add three seraphim. When once Perugino had lighted upon what he deemed satisfactory types and arrangements he adhered to them, and repeated them over and over again, like most of the artists of the Middle Ages. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle show us how, whenever he had to treat one of the traditional subjects, he selected from his portfolio some of the studies made for previous compositions and copied them without scruple. His fellow citizens in Umbria did not grumble, but the people of Florence were more exacting, as he found to his cost; for when in the *Assumption,* painted for the church of Santa-Maria dei Servi, he repeated in almost exactly the same form the picture of

the *Ascension*, now in the Lyons Museum, there was a general outburst of indignation, and he lost all favour.

Practices of this kind, amounting to a lack of intellectual probity, might have been expected to exert an evil influence upon his pupils, but Raphael was in no wise affected by them, and his whole life was one of laborious effort. He never repeated himself, and of all his countless Madonnas, no two are exactly alike. Three times he represented the *Temptation of Adam and Eve*, and each time he devised a new composition. No wonder, therefore, that Raphael should have died in the prime of his manhood, worn out by work, while Perugino lived on to old age.



PORTRAIT OF PERUGINO, BY HIMSELF.

All that remains to be said about the Cambio is to notice the striking portrait of the artist which completes the decoration. Perugino was at that time fifty-four years of age, in the full flush of health and strength, and his countenance is expressive at once of reflection and self-satisfaction. The portrait represents rather the active, well-to-do, and practical-minded burgher than the artist, whose qualities, however, are dwelt upon in very eulogistic terms in the inscription at the foot of the portrait, due no doubt, like the rest, to Maturanzio.

PETRVS PERVSINVS EGREGIVS
PICTOR.
PERDITA SI FVERAT PINGENDI: HIC RETTVLIT ARTEM
SI NVSQVAM INVENTA EST HACTENVS IPSE DEDIT
ANNO SALVT.
MD.

In giving himself the place of honour upon the most prominent part of the walls, between the heroes of Greece and Rome, Perugino was not obeying the traditions of humility associated with the Umbrian school, but at Perugia, just then, he was a great man.

CHAPTER III

Criticism long exercised itself in trying to distinguish between the hand of the master and that of the pupil in the works issued from Perugino's studio between 1499 and 1502. The most practised connoisseurs feel doubts before certain pictures, but it is difficult to confound drawings by the master with those by the pupil. The former are infinitely more archaic, and far more careless. It would take too long to review all those drawings at Oxford, at Venice, at Lille, in which Raphael has gone to his master for inspiration and method. I will select two of the most striking examples. Among the drawings at Venice there is one which seems to be at once a study for Apollo in the *Apollo and Marsyas*, and for one of the kings in the *Adoration of the Magi* (see chapter ix.). In this figure no one can fail to notice the malformation of the right leg, which is curved and bent in a very ungraceful way. Now, this is taken literally from an angel by Perugino in one of the Uffizi drawings. Again, in the picture itself of *Apollo and Marsyas*, the curious head of Marsyas is taken from one of Perugino's favourite types. A whole series of almost exactly similar heads is preserved in the Albertina and Uffizi collections.[1]

When Raphael left Perugino, in 1502, he had learnt all that the Umbrian had to teach. Neither oil nor fresco painting had any secrets for him. In later years his brush acquired more freedom and power, but it lost some of the fine qualities of its earlier days. His colour became less warm and luminous, and it lost that fine amber tone which it had at first. But if Perugino was of benefit to Raphael as a master for colour and technical methods generally, his influence was injurious in draughtsmanship, design, and imagination. No painter ever had fewer ideas than he. His genius was essentially contemplative, and to that perhaps we owe some of the grace, tenderness, and love for nature of his pupil.

The fame of Pinturicchio has long been overshadowed by that of his more famous fellow-countryman. But if Perugino was the greater painter, Bernardino di Betto, to give him his right name, had the more active imagination, the more inquiring mind. It has now been established, mainly through the discoveries of the

[1] By insisting on Raphael's authorship of the *Apollo and Marsyas*, M. Müntz and other French writers bring an element of disorder into the early development of the master which seems quite gratuitous. In the picture itself there is much to affirm and nothing to contradict the authorship of Perugino, which is confirmed by such studies for it as have been identified.—W. A.

Commendatore Morelli, that Raphael studied Pinturicchio almost as much as he did Perugino. According to some admirers of Pinturicchio, the *Virgin between Saints Jerome and Francis*, at Berlin, and the *Coronation of the Virgin*, in the Vatican, are only cartoons of Pinturicchio translated into paint by the younger master. We shall show presently on what slight foundations these assertions rest.

For vigour of design it was no use to follow Perugino or Pinturicchio. Raphael, therefore, set himself to assimilate some at least of the characteristic fire of Luca Signorelli. Thanks to the researches of Vischer, Schmarsow, and Kahl, we can now point to a whole series of drawings by Raphael in which creations of Luca's are reproduced. But all these borrowings were no more than accidents in the artistic development of Raphael, whose master *par excellence* was Pietro Perugino.

Hitherto I have only referred incidentally to the famous collection at Venice, *The Raphael Sketch Book*. Of late, it has become a subject of ardent controversy, especially in Germany, where the members of the smaller of the two parties into which it has divided Raphaelists endeavour to make up for their scanty numbers by warmth of language. Three points are beyond dispute: (1) that the drawings at Venice date from the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century; (2) that they formed at first a sort of album, or portable sketch-book;[1] (3) that they are for the most part by one and the same hand. It is upon the question as to whose this hand was that furious disputes have raged. MM. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, de Liphart, Bode, Lippmann, Bayersdorfer, Schmarsow, de Pulszky, and the whole body of French critics, persist in affirming the paternity of Raphael; Morelli assigns most of the drawings to Pinturicchio, and he is followed by Wickhoff and Marco Minghetti, while they are ascribed by Kahl to Girolamo Genga, of Urbino. A few connoisseurs, with Springer among them, believe them to be the collective work of some Umbrian studio.

All that we know of the *Sketch Book* is that it was bought about eighty years ago by the Milanese painter, Giuseppe Bossi, who gave about sixteen pounds for the collection and christened it with Raphael's name. At Bossi's death it was purchased for the Venice Academy. It must be remembered, however, that the drawings at Oxford, Lille, in the Louvre, and at Vienna, are no better authenti-

[1] This is not true of all the drawings commonly included under the title of *The Venetian Sketch Book*. Of these a certain number are on paper of a different colour, a different size, and a different water-mark from the rest. Among these are the only two drawings in the whole collection which are universally acknowledged to be by Raphael.—W. A.

cated. Why should we not recognize in this *Sketch Book*, the *Libro famoso de cento disegni di mano tutti di Raffaello che comprò Guido in Roma*, which formed part of the property left by Guido at his death in 1642, and was afterwards, in all probability, in the collection of Carlo Maratta (died 1713), who possessed a *Libro di alcuni avanzi de studj giovanili di Raffaello, che approvano le sue prime fatiche con un esatissima imitazione a maggior finimento terminato?*

When Bossi acquired it the *Sketch Book* contained fifty-three leaves

PORTRAIT OF A GIRL.
(Drawing in the Academy of Fine Arts, Venice.)

with 106 drawings, numbered from two to fifty-five (including one numbered forty-eight, which was discovered afterwards, at Paris). The leaves are now exhibited separately (on hinged frames, so that both sides can be examined and the paper looked through, and it is easy in nearly every case to verify the old numeration. The work of rehabilitation has been skilfully and conscientiously performed by Kahl, who bases his erroneous conclusions on premisses that are perfectly sound. By general consent, the sheets contain many slight

sketches which are not by Raphael, and as much may be allowed of the syllables *d. unz. B. L. paro* (Kahl, No. 50) which appear on one and do not seem to be in his writing. As for the letter *G*, however, in which Kahl sees the initial of Girolamo Genga, it is precisely similar, as Wickhoff has shown, to the initial of the word *Genova* in that study for the *Departure of Æneas Sylvius*, which we shall presently show to be from the hand of Sanzio.

PORTRAIT OF A GIRL.
(Drawing in the Academy of Fine Arts, Venice.)

In glancing through the *Sketch Book* one is struck by the fact that it contains, side by side with studies from the living model, views of Urbino and its neighbourhood, copies from the portraits of philosophers in the library of that city, copies from Mantegna, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Signorelli, copies from the antique fragment of the *Three Graces* at Siena, and finally from drawings by Pollajuolo and Leonardo da Vinci.

This would be strange if one supposed the author to be any one else than Raphael. Take, for instance, Pinturicchio. Morelli has shown, with much sagacity, that a certain number of the Venetian drawings repeat motives from the compositions of that master, but

instead of deducing thence that their author copied Pinturicchio, he concludes that the latter himself did most of the drawings. But Pinturicchio did not go to Urbino, did not study Mantegna, did not imitate Leonardo, cared nothing for the antique. The evidence of the philosophers' portraits and the views of Urbino is so strong that Kahl has suggested an Urbinate as their author, namely, Girolamo Genga (1476—1551). This conjecture, however, has, so far as I know, made no converts.

If we admit the authorship of Raphael, we find most of our difficulties at an end. It is natural that a boy brought up at Urbino should have studied the scenes of his native district, and copied the portraits in the ducal library; that proceeding afterwards to Città di Castello, he should have laid Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Signorelli under contribution; and that he should also have gone for inspiration to Leonardo da Vinci. Even the copy from Mantegna's print fits into the facts of Raphael's life, for its general arrangement reappears in his famous picture in the Palazzo Borghese. And is not the drawing after the *Three Graces* the ancestor of the little gem in Lord Dudley's collection?[1]

The first general conclusion we come to, then, is that the Venice *Sketch Book* fits ill into what we know of all those for whom it has been claimed, with the exception of Raphael, while it accords perfectly with the course taken by his early development. The objections drawn from the style of the drawings have at first sight more force. It is undeniable that in some the handling is easy and commonplace, in others, harsh and rude, while a very great number are without accent and distinction. In answer to this, three things must be remembered. In the first place, these studies are carried out with the pen on a poor paper which was sure to give a result very different from what may be won with silver point on a prepared surface; secondly, they may have been done when Raphael was only twelve years of age, and it would be hard to say how immature the work, even of genius, might not be at that age; thirdly, there is at least as much difference between the very early works of Raphael and such pictures as the *Coronation of the Virgin*, or the *Sposalizio*, as between the drawings at Venice and some of those at Oxford or Lille.

Besides the *Three Graces* and the *Entombment*, the *Sketch Book* contains other motives used by Raphael in his later years. The *Massacre of the Innocents*, perhaps the earliest drawing of them all, contains the germ of the famous plate engraved some ten years later by Marc Antonio after a second composition by Sanzio. The *Woman*

[1] Now in the possession of the Duc d'Aumale.—W. A.

Kneeling (Kahl, No. 8) recalls the Magdalen in the Dudley *Crucifixion*. The *Children Dancing* and *Children Playing with a Pig* are the forerunners of the *Children Quarrelling* in the Louvre, the *Children Playing* at Oxford, and the *Dance of Cupids*, engraved by Marc Antonio. The landscape described by Kahl under the number 105 may be fairly called a pendant to one at Oxford (Robinson, No. 17). And mark the likeness between the *Head of a Young Girl* (page 23) and the *Lute Player* at Oxford—might they not be brother and sister?

Head of an Old Man, seen in profile (Kahl, No. 89). Reproduced as it stands in: 1, *The Adoration of the Magi*, a drawing in the Stockholm Museum; and, 2, in *The Adoration of the Magi* in the Vatican.

PORTRAIT OF A GIRL.
(Drawing in the Academy of Fine Arts, Venice.)

A Man's Head, Leonardesque in character (do.). Repeated in a drawing at Oxford.

Head of a Young Man, with his eyes turned upwards (Kahl, No. 59). Repeated in a drawing at Oxford (Robinson. No. 10), in a drawing in the Malcolm collection, and finally in the *Coronation of the Virgin*, at the Vatican (figure of St. John on the right).

Angel Throwing Flowers, used in the *Holy Family of Francis I.*, and in the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche.*

Study of Draperies (Kahl, No. 26), used in the Duke of Devonshire's drawing of *Æneas Sylvius before Eugenius IV.*, which will presently be shown to be authentic.

Landscape (Kahl, No. 103), used in reverse, in the *Terranuova Madonna*, Berlin.[1]

PORTRAIT OF VIRGIL.
(Drawing in the Academy of Fine Arts, Venice.)

View of Fossombrona (Kahl, No. 36), reproduced almost literally in a drawing at Oxford (Robinson, No. 17).

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raphael*, vol. i. p. 231.

Young Man Standing, Nude (Kahl, No. 23); a study for one of the kings in the *Adoration of the Magi*, in the Vatican, perhaps also for the *Apollo and Marsyas*.

Study of Three Nude Figures (Kahl, No. 17); one of these, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, is the first idea for the shepherd crowning Apollo, in the *Apollo and Marsyas* of the Stanza della Segnatura.

Head of a Man Crying Out (Kahl, No. 22). Passavant long ago pointed out the relationship between this drawing and the study for a Gorgon preserved at Oxford (Robinson, No. 71). This served in its turn for the head of Medusa on Minerva's shield in the *School of Athens*. In order to explain this coincidence Mr. Kahl takes refuge in the notion that the sketch at Venice was made from the Vatican fresco.

Two Men seen from Behind (Kahl, No. 3). By combining these two figures Raphael has created the personage who stands on the left in the Wicar drawing already quoted, and in the Vatican *Presentation in the Temple*. From the older man he has taken the type and the pose; from the younger the arrangement of the lower limbs and the drapery. It would be easy to multiply these comparisons, and to point for instance to the *Woman Suckling a Child* (Kahl, No. 46), which is identical with the drawing at Oxford numbered 22 in Robinson; to the *Player on the Bagpipes* (Kahl, No. 29), which is repeated in Robinson, No. 2; to the *Kneeling Virgin* (Kahl, No. 8), which corresponds to a figure in the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, at Oxford (Robinson, No. 7).

Our belief in the authenticity of the Venice *Sketch Book* rests, then, on three general arguments: 1, On its congruity with what we know of the early studies and works of Raphael; 2, An analogy of style and handling; 3, On the numerous points of contact between the motives it figures and those afterwards made use of by the master. Such as it is, too, the collection bears witness to the variety of Raphael's tastes, to his inquiring spirit, and to his fidelity of interpretation. The young painter attacks subjects of the most various kinds. Heads, hands, torsos, draperies, ornaments, landscapes, copies of pictures and original designs, all appear in these pages. The destination of the work explains its variety. It was evidently a book in which Raphael collected materials for future use. More than once, when hurried or fatigued, he sketched in the fewest of lines the object he wished to fix in his memory. As a rule, however, his drawings were carried much farther. Again, it must not be

forgotten that an interval of perhaps ten years separated the earliest from the latest. During that time Raphael advanced with the steps of a giant.

CHAPTER IV

When Perugino returned to Tuscany, Raphael was nineteen years of age, and old enough to begin work on his own account. His master, who was at that time overwhelmed with orders, doubtless recommended him strongly to his own friends and patrons in Umbria, and it was owing to their spirit of generous piety that he was able to execute some of his most admired pictures.

Notwithstanding his lofty intelligence and distinguished manners we must imagine Raphael leading all this time the modest and *bourgeois* life of his master and comrades. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the most celebrated artists were always classed in the same category as artisans, or, to speak more accurately, there was no distinction between the two. It needed all the force of the genius of Bramante, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, and the tenacious will of Julius II. and Leo X., to overcome deep-rooted prejudices and to raise this class of men to the same rank as that occupied by other representatives of thought.

The mercenary ways of Perugino were not calculated to force on a revolution of this kind. It would have been different if he had been in the habit of using the noble language in which he addressed the Marchesa di Mantua, when he wrote to her that honour was of more account than money, but his noble patrons were accustomed to receive appeals of another kind, and it is not surprising that they should have treated with disdain men whose characters were not so lofty as their talents. They were wont to treat them in a most cavalier way, making them wait years for payment, and compelling them to sue in the most abject terms for an advance upon the sum due for a picture or a statue, while they heaped their liberalities upon men of letters. Many poet laureates and philologists received hundreds of ducats for the dedication of books, and this because they knew how to make themselves respected, or feared.

Before speaking of the orders which Raphael received from art patrons in Umbria, and the agreements which he made with them, it may be well to consider the relations between artists and buyers at that time. Some of the usages seem strange and humiliating to

us now, while others, since obsolete, were calculated to protect the dignity of the artist.

The price of the work was generally fixed in advance, and the artist undertook to supply all the materials with the exception of the gold and the ultramarine, which two colours, so much used in the pictures of the early Renaissance, were nearly always provided by the person who ordered the picture. This arrangement often gave rise to disputes, as when Sixtus IV. complained that the painters of the Sistine Chapel had not used enough of these colours, and when the committee for the decoration of the dome of Orvieto complained that Pinturicchio was using too much of them, and thus brought on a quarrel which led to the work being suspended. Another peculiarity is that payment was often made in kind. Perugino frequently received wheat on account of his Cambio frescoes, and Pinturicchio was obliged to consent to buy from Cardinal Piccolomini's steward the corn, oil, and wine which he wanted during his decoration of Siena Cathedral. The contracts sometimes contained a stipulation that a supplementary sum should be paid, at pleasure, by the person who had given the order in the event of his being satisfied. Thus Giovanni Tornabuoni promised to give Domenico Ghirlandajo 200 ducats over and above the 1200 which were to be paid for painting the choir of Santa-Maria Novella, if he were pleased with the work. Ghirlandajo did the work so well, that Tornabuoni was obliged to acknowledge his success, but he did not pay him the extra sum. Yet,—so strange a medley of meanness and generosity were the habits of that day,—Tornabuoni hearing some years afterwards that Ghirlandajo was ill, sent him a hundred ducats as a present.

In some cases, the most celebrated artists worked by the month, or even by the day, and when they lost a few hours the time was deducted from their wages. Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, for instance, received a fixed wage of fifteen ducats a month while they were working at the cartoons of the *Battle of Anghiari* and the *War of Pisa*. In many cases the artists were lodged and boarded, and they then received a lower wage. The fare with which they were provided was agreed upon in writing, and from some of the bills of fare which are still in existence, we see that the masters of the fifteenth century liked to live well. Thus in 1430, the tapestry worker, Jean Hosemant of Tournai, who was employed at Avignon by the Pope, had for his daily allowance three measures of wine, six loaves of bread, a dish of meat, fish, eggs, and vegetables. Though Fra Angelico at Orvieto was only allowed bread and wine, and three ducats a month, to buy other things, he was being paid a salary of

sixteen florins a month, which is equivalent to 400*l.* per annum at the present value of money.

There was another mode of payment which has gone out of fashion, obvious as are the advantages which it offers, when the contracting parties, being unable to say beforehand what the exact value of a work would be, agreed to leave it to experts to decide after its completion what it was worth. This enabled the artist to work with perfect freedom, assured as he was that a fair valuation would be put upon his labours, and Raphael was one of those who had a great liking for this system. In a letter to his uncle Simone, in 1508, he mentions not having fixed any price for one of his pictures, preferring that it should be valued when finished. After he had completed the *Sibyls* for the Church of the Pace, he requested that the work might be valued; and the expert selected was Michael Angelo, who fulfilled the same functions at the request of Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici and Sebastiano del Piombo, after the latter had painted the *Resurrection of Lazarus.*

Raphael began, of course, with pictures of small dimensions, and subjects which did not require a very high degree of knowledge. His earliest efforts were a series of Madonnas, drawn at half-length; in most of them the Virgin, who is drawn full face, is standing looking down on her child. What is noteworthy in these works is the sincerity of the efforts made by the young artist to strike out a line for himself. The influence of his master, like that of his father, declined from year to year, one may almost say from month to month, until at last he had created a style of his own.

Raphael, during all this early period, was, however, compelled to take into account the demands of the Umbrian public. For a Madonna or a Holy Family to awaken feelings of sympathy in the minds of this primitive people it was necessary that neither the costume, the attributes, nor even the attitudes of the figures depicted should differ from the types to which they had grown accustomed.

Thus, in one of the pictures in the Berlin Museum, the *Virgin between St. Jerome and St. Francis*, the Virgin's head is covered with a mantle, as in the Byzantine compositions. Moreover, under the blue mantle is a white veil hiding part of the forehead, an arrangement which is seen in the mosaics and frescoes of the first ages of Christianity. The golden star placed upon the left shoulder of the Virgin is also borrowed from the traditions of the primitive Church.

Raphael soon had more important work entrusted to him; for shortly after the departure of his master, a lady belonging to one of

the most powerful families of Perugia, Maddalena degli Oddi, instructed him to paint for the Church of St. Francis the *Coronation of the Virgin*. As the Oddis were banished after the fall of Cæsar Borgia, in August 1503, this work, vast in its dimensions, must have been executed in the early part of that year.

Many drawings in the collections at Pesth, Venice, Lille, and Oxford, show with what care Raphael prepared his work, and an interesting account of this is given by M. Gruyer in *Les Vierges de Raphael*. He says: "The Lille Museum contains the drawing for the principal group of the *Coronation of the Virgin*. At that time the women of Umbria were not often seen in public, and though they might have sat for a celebrated painter like Perugino, Raphael did not venture to ask this favour, and was obliged to take his comrades for models of the Virgin. He selected two of them, and placing them opposite each other made the silver-point drawing now in the Wicar collection. These two youths, with their beardless countenances, and attired in the tight-fitting hose which shows off their well-shaped bodies, entered into the spirit of the work, and their attitudes are not only natural but full of religious fervour. The one meant for the Virgin bends before the other, not so much perhaps as in the picture itself, and is seen rather too much in full face, but the arms are in the right position, and the hands devoutly joined together, while the legs, when they are covered with drapery, will retain the position which they have here, and so will the feet, only in the picture they will be bare. Nor will there be any change in the position of the figure which is to represent Jesus."

This profound respect for Nature is, as cannot too often be repeated, one of the distinctive traits of Raphael's genius. It is the bond which unites him to the primitive and quattrocentist artists, whereas in so many other respects he obeys no law but that of his own taste. He puts all his heart into the copying of a leaf or flower, and no artist was ever more enthusiastic about the beauties of creation. For the *Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino* and for the *Coronation of the Virgin* he first drew his figures from Nature, with their close-fitting garments, caps, and cropped hair. It was only after he had done this that he arranged the draperies, and gave the required expression to the faces—in short, composed the picture. We find him, too, making studies from a skeleton for the figure of the Virgin in the *Entombment*. In a red-chalk drawing in the Lille Museum (No. 740), he made use of a man model to prepare the *Virgin of the Casa Alba;* and in another red-chalk drawing (Louvre Museum, Drawing No. 314), a man in his shirt-sleeves and not at all idealized

is the model for the beautiful figure of *Christ entrusting His flock to St. Peter.*

To go back to the *Coronation of the Virgin:* the picture is composed of two distinct parts. The one contains the Apostles assembled around the tomb of the Virgin, just as in pictures of the *Assumption;* the other, Christ seated on the clouds, amid a glory of angels, placing a crown upon His mother's head. Several of the Apostles are looking upwards, and see Christ and His mother above them. This action suffices to connect the two scenes and give complete unity to the whole.

STUDY FOR THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
(Drawing in the Wicar Museum.)

The moment selected by Raphael is that at which the Apostles have reached the tomb of the Virgin. Several of them are astonished to find that it is empty, and look into the sarcophagus in which lilies and roses have taken the place of the body. While some, among them St. Paul, are overcome with astonishment, others are looking heavenwards for an explanation of the mystery, and their eyes beam with delight at the joyful spectacle which meets their gaze.

It was not, assuredly, an easy task for a follower of the Umbrian School to render with the necessary force and precision the impression produced by this spectacle upon these men of such varying origin and age, to portray twelve times upon twelve different physi-

ognomies, and without repeating himself, a feeling almost identical. Such a problem called for an effort of dramatic power greater than could have been expected from a young man of twenty. But it

STUDY FOR ONE OF THE ANGELS IN THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
(Drawing in the Wicar Collection.)

would be ungracious to insist upon these defects when one reflects upon the transcendent beauties of the composition; and several of

the figures, notably those of Christ and His mother, are of a marvellously pure type.

There was a vast difference between this *Coronation* and one which Perugino painted about the same time. In the work of the pupil we are struck by the vigour of conception and the exuberance of life and poetry—in that of the master, the apostles, divided into two groups, merely express by their gestures their admiration for the spectacle they have before them. It must have been grievous to be wanting both in science and inspiration; still worse to be eclipsed by a youth of twenty after having been the favourite painter of the Borgias.

Underneath the *Coronation of the Virgin* there was formerly a "predella," upon which were traced, in much smaller dimensions, scenes in the lives of the Virgin and of Christ, which supplemented the principal picture. This predella, though separated from the main part of the work, is in the Vatican. Raphael's predella represents in three compartments divided by red arabesques on a black ground, the *Annunciation*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, and the *Presentation in the Temple*.[1]

The scene in which Mary receives from the heavenly messenger the assurance of her future greatness takes place beneath a lofty and elegant portico, supported by Corinthian columns. To the right, the Virgin is seated, with a book on her knee, slightly bending the head; to the left is an Angel, who is rapidly advancing towards her with extreme joy depicted on his face; and in the background, soaring in the air, is God the Father, confirming the promise borne by His messenger.

For a picture of the Umbrian school as full of life and movement, of grace and of strength as Raphael's *Adoration of the Magi*, we must go back to one of the same subject painted in 1423 for Palla Strozzi by Gentile da Fabriano, which, as soon as it appeared, excited the warmest admiration among the artists of Florence. These two pictures, painted at an interval of eighty years, have the same fire and exuberant life in the male figures, and the same exquisite grace in the figure of the Virgin.

In Raphael's picture, near a ruined hovel, the Virgin is seated with her Son upon her knees, to whom one of the kings is offering rich presents. Here, it must be admitted, Gentile has the better of his young rival. In his picture, the senior of the Magi, prostrate before

[1] The cartoon of the *Annunciation* is on view in the Louvre, Salle des Boîtes, No. 1606; that of the *Adoration of the Magi*, in the Stockholm Museum; and that of the *Presentation in the Temple* at Oxford (Robinson, p. 122).

the Infant Jesus, humbly kisses His feet, while the Child gravely lays His hand upon the worshipper's head. This scene, which is made more brilliant by the richness of the costumes, has a solemnity which is wanting in Raphael's work, and is, as it were, a final echo of the pomp of the Middle Ages. Behind the principal group, Raphael, by one of those bold inspirations for which he is remarkable, has placed three Shepherds, who, by the simplicity of their costume and the modesty of their offering (a lamb), contrast with the splendour of the three kings.

For the third and last division, the *Presentation in the Temple*, Raphael selected, as for the *Annunciation*, an architectural framework, at once simple and imposing. In the centre of the composition stands the aged Simeon, who is the only personage with a halo, and he takes the new born Child from Mary with a gesture full of grace and modesty. But the Child is afraid of the stranger, and turns towards His mother, stretching out His little arms as if to implore her help. This is one of those touches of nature which testify to Raphael's originality in observation. St. Joseph completes this group, the arrangement of which is perfect. At the two extremities of the picture are the men to the left and the women to the right, one of the women carrying the traditional turtle-doves as a gift. The costumes are those of the fifteenth century, red, black, or green shoes, felt head-dresses of fantastic shapes, and long mantles.

Perugia was not the only town in Umbria to which Raphael was indebted, for he received cordial hospitality from Città di Castello, where Luca Signorelli and Pinturicchio had already been employed. The Vitelli, then the leading family in the city, were allies of the Dukes of Urbino, and in December 1502, Raphael's legitimate sovereign, Duke Guidobaldo, took refuge with them from Cæsar Borgia. His flight was so precipitate that he only took a single day to reach Città di Castello from Urbino. This fact, which Raphael's biographers do not seem to have noticed, explains to some extent how it was that he soon felt himself at home. It is probable that he did not come till after the visit of Duke Guidobaldo, or even until after the town, which had been captured by Cæsar Borgia, regained its liberty on the death of Alexander VI. (August 18, 1503).

Raphael executed four paintings at Città di Castello—viz., the Banner representing on one side the *Trinity* and on the other the *Creation of Eve;* the *Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino; Christ on the Cross;* and the *Sposalizio.* It is still in existence, but in a state of ruin, and has been removed from the Church of the Trinity, for which it was painted, to the town gallery of Città di Castello.

He did not deem it beneath his dignity to accept this order, knowing that the most illustrious painters were glad to paint banners which held the place of honour in processions, and were generally as well-paid as oil-paintings. The Umbrian school had the monopoly of

STUDY FOR THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.
(Drawing in Oxford University.)

them, and Perugino had set his pupil the example by painting fourteen small standards for the Panicale Church. On one side of the banner Raphael represented God the Father seated on a cloud of glory and holding a crucifix in both hands, while above Him hovers the Holy

Ghost. At the bottom are St. Sebastian and St. Roch on their knees and with their eyes lifted towards God. Upon the reverse God is depicted advancing toward Adam, who is asleep, while above are the figures of two Angels. Passavant adds that the paintings are on slightly prepared canvas, and that they have a blue border ornamented with gilt tracery and palms; the letter R traced upon the hem of the garment worn by God stands for the signature, and the whole work, though conceived in the style of Perugino, has more breadth and grace, especially in regard to the landscape.

The *Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino*, executed for the church of St. Augustine, remained at Città di Castello until 1789, when it was sold for £200 to Pope Pius VI. The picture was on panel, and difficult to move on account of its size; and as it was injured in the upper part, the Pope had it sawn in two, so as to make a complete picture of the lower part, while the figures in the higher formed distinct pictures. These fragments were to be seen in the Vatican until after the entry of the French into Rome in 1798, when they were sold by auction with Raphael's tapestries and many other objects which have since disappeared.

Thanks to the descriptions of Lanzi and Pungileoni, and to two drawings preserved at Oxford and Lille, it is possible to furnish a tolerably clear description of the picture. According to Lanzi, Raphael represented St. Nicholas as being crowned by the Virgin and St. Augustine, who was half hidden in a cloud. Beneath St. Augustine's feet is the prostrate figure of the demon, and to the right and left are two Angels holding inscriptions in honour of the saint. In the upper division is the majestic figure of the Almighty surrounded by a glory of angels. A sort of temple, with pilasters charged with ornaments after the manner of Mantegna, forms a framework for the composition, and the draperies are of the period. It will be remarked that in this drawing Raphael, instead of representing the devil in his conventional hideousness, has given him the appearance of a negro.

Christ on the Cross, which from the Gavari Chapel in the Dominican church has found its way, after many vicissitudes, into Lord Dudley's gallery in London, is among the most important of Raphael's youthful productions. The subject, it must be admitted, was scarcely adapted to his genius, and one can understand his taking refuge in ready-made ideas. In proportion as he displays inspiration and spirit when he has to represent grace and beauty, so does he give evidence of indecision in the portrayal of passion or grief—at all events during his early period.

This brings us to the fourth, and doubtless the last, of the pictures painted at Città di Castello, viz. the *Sposalizio* or *Marriage of the Virgin*, which was painted in 1504 for the Church of St. Francis. Removed from there in 1798, it is now in the Brera Museum at Milan.

It is natural, when one examines this picture, to be reminded of that on the same subject painted by Perugino, for there seems, at first sight, to be a striking resemblance between the two; but it is incorrect to speak of Raphael's work as a repetition or a copy. Raphael no more copied Perugino's picture than the latter reproduced those of his predecessors. In all pictures of this subject the general arrangement is almost identical.

There are as many beauties in the pupil's picture as there are defects in that of the master. In Raphael's there is a world of candour and modesty in the expression of the Virgin, the very way in which she gives her hand to the high-priest shows by itself that the work is that of a born painter, of a subtle observer, of a true poet. He was born to paint Madonnas and Angels. There was always a profound opposition between his genius and that of his rival, Michael Angelo, whose figures of women—when by chance he painted any—had always something masculine about them.

The background of the *Sposalizio* deserves special mention, for though apparently imitated from Perugino, it is original in the best sense. Only a man of genius like Raphael could thus dare to follow in the footsteps of his master, confident of overcoming the obstacles that to him had proved insurmountable. In Raphael's picture, a polygon temple, which would have done credit to any architect, takes the place of Perugino's hybrid edifice, and the whole background is full of light and air.

The young artist was proud of his work, and instead of merely signing his initials in a corner, as he had hitherto done, the words *Raphaël Urbinas, MDIIII.* appear in full on the façade of the Temple.

CHAPTER V

THE period between the years 1504 and 1508 is undoubtedly the most eventful one in Raphael's life. We find him at Perugia, Città di Castello, Siena, Urbino, Florence, perhaps at Bologna, and then again at Perugia and Urbino; but the dates of these journeys cannot

be fixed with certainty. While at Urbino he shares in all the ceremonies of a brilliant and enlightened court. He tries his hand at sacred and profane history, at portraits, easel-pictures, and fresco. He is influenced by Masaccio, Signorelli, Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolommeo; and then he suddenly goes back to the Perugino manner, so that we are puzzled to follow the apparent contradictions of his ever growing genius.

The date of Raphael's sojourn at Siena is uncertain, for Pinturicchio, who invited him to come and advise him in the painting of the frescoes which Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini had ordered for the Library, was several years at this work, off and on. He began and finished the decoration of the ceiling in 1503, but he does not appear to have commenced the side-walls before 1504; and it was in the course of the same year that he painted a Nativity in the Church of San Francesco for the altar of Filippo Sergardi (the first owner of the *Belle Jardinière*), for which Raphael is said to have executed a predella. It is not, therefore, rash to conjecture that Raphael came to Siena in 1504, just as his friend was about to resume work in the Library.

Cardinal Piccolomini, afterwards Pius III., had requested Pinturicchio to reproduce in the town of Siena, so dear to the greatest of the Piccolomini family, the achievements of him who, after gaining celebrity in the world of letters and diplomacy under the name of Æneas Sylvius, became Pius II. Siena teemed with recollections of the illustrious pontiff who had raised so many splendid monuments in the town itself, at Pienza, and other neighbouring places. The only fault which an impartial historian could find with him—that he showed too much favour to his family and his native place, to the detriment of the Church and of Rome—was an additional merit in the eyes of the people of Siena. There was no one more popular in this ancient Republic.

The life of Pius II. afforded ample scope for the graphic powers of Bernardino Pinturicchio. Born at Siena in 1405 of poor but noble parents, Æneas Sylvius became secretary of the Council of Basle, where he attracted notice by his attacks upon the legitimate Pope, then he became secretary to the Emperor Frederick III., poet laureate, amanuensis, and ambassador. During his long stay in Germany he set himself to study a country then very little known to his compatriots, and his letters and works of geography and history still give us the most correct and vivid picture of the German Empire in the fifteenth century. Quitting Germany and becoming reconciled to the Church, he rapidly reached the highest honours, being proclaimed

Pope in 1458, after having been Bishop of Siena, and then Cardinal. His reign was brief but brilliant; for we find him at one and the same time engaged in restoring the authority of the Church, in organizing a crusade against the Turks, in writing, under the title of *Commentaries*, a history of his own time, and perpetuating his memory by the erection of vast buildings. The Congress of Mantua, the foundation of the city of Pienza, the transfer to Rome, amid signs of indescribable enthusiasm, of the relics of St. Andrew, his departure as Pope for a new Crusade—he only got as far as Ancona, where he died of grief at seeing the breakdown of the enterprise upon which

SIENA AT THE TIME OF THE RENAISSANCE.

he had concentrated his efforts for a quarter of a century—were all episodes calculated to stimulate the imagination of an artist.

The subjects selected for the frescoes on the walls of the Library were ten in all:—(1) *Departure of Æneas Sylvius for the Council of Basle;* (2) *Æneas Sylvius in the presence of King James of Scotland;* (3) *Æneas Sylvius proclaimed Poet Laureate at Frankfort;* (4) *Æneas Sylvius taking the Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor before Pope Eugene IV.;* (5) *Æneas Sylvius affiancing the Emperor Frederick III. to Eleanor of Portugal;* (6) *Æneas Sylvius made Cardinal;* (7) *Æneas Sylvius elected Pope;* (8) *Pius II. at the Congress of Mantua;* (9)

Canonization of Catherine of Siena; (10) *Death of Pius II. at Ancona.*

Commenced in 1504, this grand series was not completed until 1506. The best judges are of opinion that Raphael had nothing to do with the actual execution of the frescoes in the Library, and that his share in the work was confined to giving Pinturicchio sketches of which the latter made use. Some critics have even, of late years, attempted to cast doubt on the theory that Raphael helped Pinturicchio in any way. But a series of designs of unquestionable authenticity corroborate the words of Vasari, to whom we owe our knowledge concerning the help given to Pinturicchio by Raphael. A comparison between the drawings and frescoes dispels all doubts, and shows the crushing superiority of the younger man.

Look, for instance, at the *Departure of Æneas Sylvius for the Council of Basle.* In a drawing at the Uffizi the landscape is largely and confidently treated; in the fresco it has the look of a Chinese picture. In the drawing, the horsemen sit firmly on their steeds, their action easy and noble, while the horses themselves are full of fire and vitality; in the fresco they are almost childish. The Umbrian master has not in the least understood the spirit of his young assistant's work, and in making use of it has introduced passages which are mere nonsense, such as the greyhound held in a leash by one of the horsemen, which stands motionless while the rest of the *cortège* moves onwards. The whole drawing, in fact, glows with the imagination of Raphael, while the picture shows all that was mannered and poor in the art of Pinturicchio. MM. Grimm and Schmarsow are confident that the inscription on the drawing is in the handwriting of Raphael.

According to a well-authenticated tradition, Pinturicchio has painted a portrait of himself and of Raphael in the *Canonization of St. Catherine of Siena,* each of them carrying a taper, and Pinturicchio looking at Raphael with an air of tender affection.

It was during his stay at Siena that Raphael seems for the first time to have found himself in the presence of a masterpiece of antique statuary. Struck by the beauty of *The Three Graces,* which Cardinal Piccolomini had transferred from Rome to the Siena Library,[1] he made a copy of it, which is still preserved in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice, and as might be expected is full of faults due to the artist's

[1] In 1857, Pope Pius IX., with an excess of religious scruples, had this work removed from the cathedral itself, on the ground that it was of pagan character, to the Academy of Fine Arts. It is now placed in the small museum which has been formed in the chapter-house of the cathedral.

inexperience. His efforts at Siena to vie with the original were fruitless, for he failed to reproduce the rounded and harmonious shapes of the marble. In Raphael's drawing there is a meagreness and poverty about the head and neck of the figure to the left, as may be seen by comparing the two engravings on pages 44 and 45.

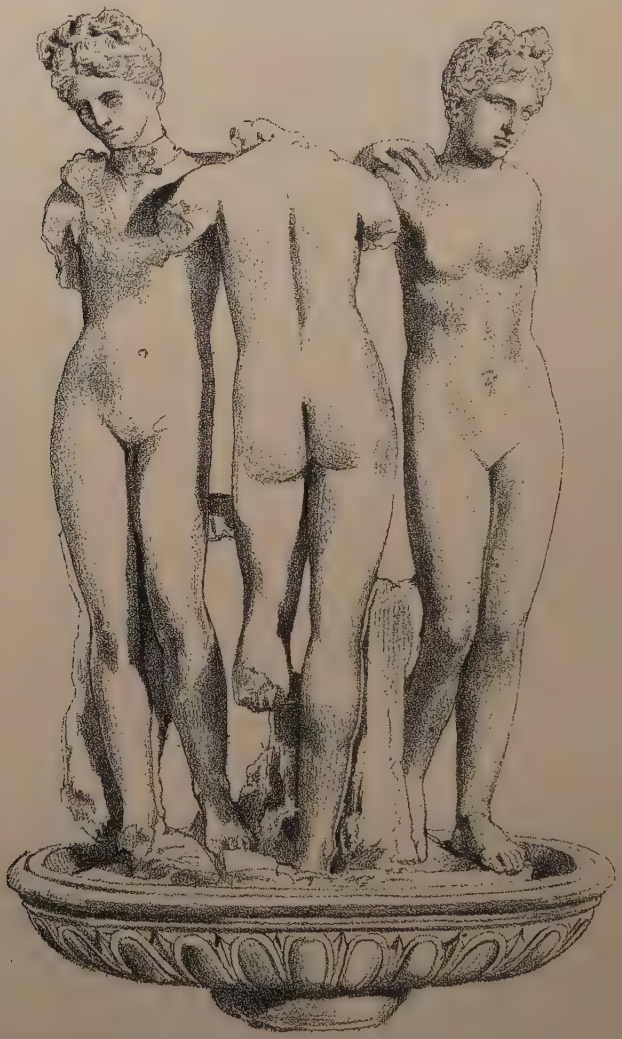
The study of the antique was almost forced upon Raphael, and if he began it rather late in life, the fault doubtless lay with his early education; for Perugino was not a partisan of the Renaissance like Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Mantegna, and never thought that a struggle was in progress between the Middle Ages and antiquity in which the latter would come out victorious. His pupil, therefore, while admiring the works of sculpture, and the Roman edifices at Urbino and Perugia, did not think of making them his models; and subject as he was to Umbrian influences, it was not until later that he felt the necessity of improving his style by studying the antique.

It is somewhat singular that it should have been at Siena, the last bulwark of the Byzantine school, that Raphael's eyes were opened to the crushing superiority of antique art, for he might well have learnt a different lesson from this ancient city, which was and is so full of recollections of the Middle Ages. Where one would have expected to find a recrudescence of mysticism, his imagination became the prey of pagan antiquity.

Siena shared the attachment of Perugia for the ideas of the Middle Ages, but this, amid many differences, was the only point of contact. There is this peculiarity about Italian cities, that having nearly all of them been capitals and the centre of some great intellectual movement, they have not become subject to the monotonous uniformity which pervades the rest of Europe. And if there are distinct differences of local character in our day, how much more marked must they have been at the time of the Renaissance, when political contests intensified literary and artistic rivalries, and when cruel wars were continually widening the gulf which separated neighbouring cities. Thus, though Siena and Perugia were only a few leagues apart, each had a civilization and an art of its own. The inhabitants of Siena were a refined and intelligent race, to whom artistic production was a vital function, while the duller Umbrians needed the excitement of religious sentiment to appreciate art at all. It may be said that every street and every house testifies to the distinguished genius of the Sienese, and there was a time when this small Republic supplied architects, painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths, not only to the neighbouring provinces, but to Rome, Naples, and even Avignon.

During the whole of the fourteenth century and the first half

of the fifteenth, Florence alone could compare with Siena for the intensity of its artistic life. In the latter city were born and worked Duccio, Simone Martini, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Taddeo Bartoli, Sano



THE GROUP OF THE THREE GRACES.
(Cathedral Library at Siena.)

di Pietro, and many other famous painters: Lorenzo Maitani, the architect of the Cathedral of Orvieto; Antonio Federighi and Francesco di Giorgio Martini represented architecture, Giacomo della

TWO OF THE THREE GRACES.—Drawing by Raphael.
(In the Venetian Academy.)

Quercia and le Vecchietta, sculpture, to mention only a few of the best known. Foreign artists—for the people of Siena took no narrow and exclusive view of patriotism—deemed it a high honour to be associated with their work; and so it was that Niccolo Pisano sculptured the Cathedral pulpit, that Giovanni Pisano designed the façade of the Cathedral, that Ghiberti modelled the statues of the Baptistery, and that Bernardino Rossellino built the magnificent Palazzo Piccolomini. At a more recent epoch Michael Angelo himself carved statues of Apostles or Saints for the chapel of this palace.

If Raphael had commenced his career at Siena instead of at Perugia the whole future of painting might have been changed. But at the time of his accepting the invitation of Pinturicchio his early impressions and tendencies had been much modified. Though he had not finally broken with the past, he saw a wider horizon before him, and the majestic pictures of the Virgin on a gold ground by Duccio di Buoninsegna, and the grand allegory of Ambrogio Lorenzetti made but little impression upon him. In his eyes the group of *The Three Graces* eclipsed all these remains of an extinct civilization, and prevented him from doing justice to the work of Niccolo Pisano, whose only fault was to be too far in advance of his age.

The influence of the Greek marble was rivalled only by that which a young stranger—whose escapades and prodigious talent were beginning to be the talk of the town—exercised over Raphael. This was Antonio Bazzi, nicknamed Sodoma, a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci's, and a few years the senior of Raphael; he had been invited to Siena in 1500 by the Spanocchi, a wealthy family of bankers, and his *Descent from the Cross*, now in the Academy of Fine Arts, his frescoes in the refectory of Santa-Anna in Creta, near Pienza, and those at Monte Oliveto, soon made him celebrated. His colouring had even more suavity than that of Perugino, while his easy and voluptuous style of composition, with its elegance and distinction, seems to have dazzled Raphael and given him a glimpse of the wonders done with palette and brushes by Leonardo himself. He little thought that within a few years' time he would meet Sodoma in another arena, and take a signal revenge upon his seducer by painting out his work at the Pope's order and substituting his own in its stead.

There was another painter of whom Raphael must have heard a good deal at this period, and whom he often met afterwards, though they were never very intimate; this was Baldassare Peruzzi, who, born at Siena of parents who belonged to Volterra, worked on the lines of both Sodoma and Pinturicchio. He was already popular in his native town, when he determined, about 1503, to try his fortune

at Rome. There he got into favour with the wealthy banker of Siena, Agostino Chigi, afterwards one of the best patrons of Raphael and Sodoma. Another Sienese artist, the wood-carver, Giovanni Barile, eventually formed part of the circle gathered around Raphael at Rome, and it was he who, from the designs of Raphael, carved and executed in *tarsia*-work, the doors of the Vatican Stanze.

THE VISION OF A KNIGHT. (National Gallery, London.)

It was about this time, in all probability, that the charming little picture called the *Vision of a Knight*, and now in the National Gallery, was painted.[1] For the first time we see Raphael painting a lay

[1] The National Gallery has been so fortunate as to be able to supplement the picture with the original sketch, a pen-drawing, pricked for pouncing. The *Vision of a Knight* was bought in 1847, and cost only a thousand guineas.

subject, and treating it with a grace and elevation worthy of the most eminent masters. It has been argued with some show of reason, that in painting this picture he had in his mind the fable of Hercules placed between Virtue and Pleasure, for the influence of antique recollections was at that period too strong for escape. But there is something more than this in his picture, for by a stroke of genius he put mythology aside, and sought his inspiration in the times which Boïardo and Pulci had brought to life again. Exhausted by fatigue, a Knight is sleeping beneath a laurel tree. Like a true warrior, he has not taken off his armour, and has made a pillow of his shield. During his sleep, two women appear to him, both marvellously beautiful. One, grave, though her features are instinct with sweetness, holds out to him a sword and a book, as if to incite him to warlike deeds and study. Her yellow tunic and flowing robe of purple give additional nobility to her carriage. The other, her rival, has a more coquettish garb. The red hue of her tunic brings into relief the brilliancy of her blue dress shot with rosy tints; she wears round her throat a coral necklace, and a white veil floats at the back of her head, while she holds in her hand a flower, the emblem of games, pleasures, and worldly amusements. This is Voluptuousness, such, at least, as it appeared to the ingenuous imagination of Raphael, the antithesis of austerity rather than of purity, and representing, may we not say, the genius of Antiquity in contradistinction to that of Christianity.

CHAPTER VI

Raphael, during his long stay at Umbria, had not forgotten his native town, and as soon as he had fulfilled his engagements at Perugia and Città di Castello resolved to go and see his uncle Simone and the Montefeltro family, of whom his father had been rather the friend than the subject. This journey was undertaken in 1504. The little Duchy had during his absence been subjected to severe trials. The ambition of Alexander VI. and of his son had convulsed Italy. Guidobaldo, driven from his principality, had returned in triumph, but he was once more compelled to meet the attack of an adversary as cruel and truculent as he was audacious. This was in November 1502. The enthusiasm of the people had risen to fever height, and the ladies of Urbino came before their prince and cast at his feet rings, necklaces and bracelets, pearls and diamonds, begging him to

accept their offerings for the salvation of the country. But what chance could a few thousand citizens have against a fierce soldiery led by a man in whom seemed incarnate the spirit of evil? The young Duke soon saw that resistance would be hopeless, and preferred to sacrifice himself rather than bring fresh misfortunes upon his country. Before going a second time into exile, he razed all the fortifications of his duchy to the ground. "For," as he said, "what is the use of these ramparts? If I keep my duchy, I have no need of fortifications to hold my subjects in obedience; if, on the contrary, they fall into the hands of the enemy, they will enable him to hold his conquest all the longer." The people of Urbino comprehended the patriotism of this decision, and set to work with such a will that towers, redoubts, and buttresses were soon level with the ground. Having secreted his treasures, Guidobaldo set out for Città di Castello, accompanied by a crowd of two thousand people.

At Urbino, Cæsar Borgia, who was as wily as he was ambitious, adopted new tactics. While he spread terror throughout the Romagna, he assumed a moderate attitude in the duchy; but his yoke was none the less burdensome to the faithful subjects of the Montefeltros, and it was a grievous trial to the magistrates of Urbino to be compelled to do homage to one so universally detested.

The death of Alexander VI. (August 18, 1503) brought the rule of the Borgias to an end. No sooner was it known than the inhabitants of the duchy rose in a body, and the return of Guidobaldo was one long series of triumphs.

Since Guidobaldo's accession, the intellectual tendencies of the Court of Urbino had undergone a great change. His capital had always been the refuge of the Muses, but the enthusiasm which distinguished the early Renaissance was followed by a period of more tranquil and refined pursuits.

It was in the interval between the years 1504 and 1508 that the society assembled at the ducal place of Urbino was most numerous and select. Among those who shone there in 1506, when Raphael returned for the second time to his native town, were Giuliano de' Medicis, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and brother of Leo X.; the two brothers Fregoso of Genoa; the poet Pietro Bembo, Cæsar Gonzaga and Count Louis of Canossa; Bernardino Divizio da Bibbiena; Bernardino Accolti, surnamed Unico Aretino, a famous singer; the Roman sculptor Giovanni Cristoforo; and Raphael's friend, the warrior, diplomatist and poet, from whom we have derived all these particulars—Baldassare Castiglione, the author of the "Cortegiano."

Most of these men were destined to attain the highest rank as

commanders, diplomatists, or prelates. One of them, Giuliano de' Medicis, was for a short time at the head of the Florentine Government, and afterwards his brother made him Captain-general of the Church. Fra Giocondo dedicated to him in 1513 the second edition of his *Vitruvius;* Leonardo da Vinci was his travelling companion when he went to Rome in 1513; Raphael painted his portrait, and Michael Angelo carved his tomb. Ottaviano Fregoso became Duke of Genoa, while his brother Frederick, Bibbiena and Pietro Bembo, received the Purple. Louis of Canossa, in turn Papal Nuncio to Louis XII. and Francis I., Bishop of Bayeux, and ambassador of Francis I. to the republic of Venice, afterwards ordered from Raphael the celebrated picture in the Madrid Museum, *The Pearl.*

It is probable that for his father's sake the ducal family of Urbino accorded a friendly reception to Raphael, who returned to his native place, if not celebrated, at all events much appreciated by those who had watched his progress. The letter of introduction given to Raphael by Guidobaldo's sister, the Duchess Giovanna della Rovere, to Soderini, the Gonfalonier of Florence, is one proof of this, while another is to be found in the title of "familiar" (officer of the court) given him by her son, the future Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino.[1] Then there is the evidence of the architect Serlio, who says that the Duchess Elisabetta was, next to Julius II. and Leo X., the warmest patron of Raphael: "If the virtuous Duchess Isabella (*sic* for Elisabetta) of Urbino had not brought Raphael into notice while young, if Julius II. and Leo X. had not afterwards rewarded him so splendidly, he could not have raised painting to such a height, nor have left behind him so many masterpieces of painting and architecture."

Notwithstanding their sympathy for the fine arts, Guidobaldo and his courtiers gave but little direct encouragement to artists, and it would be difficult to name a single artist of mark attached to his house, with the exception of Timoteo Viti and Giovanni Cristoforo Romano the sculptor. Raphael, therefore, did not find in his native town the teaching and encouragement which he found in Siena and Florence; nevertheless he received instruction of another and most valuable kind, for he became associated with the intellectual refinement of the most brilliant Court in Europe, his ideas acquired an elevation and distinction which they would never have gained in Umbria. He soon made himself familiar with the highest questions

[1] In a letter to his uncle, Simone Ciarla, in 1508, Raphael expresses an earnest wish to be recommended to the young prince as his ancient servitor and "familiar":—"A quello me ricomandate infinite volte come suo anticho servitore e familiare."

of philosophy and morality, while at the same time he grew to like classic literature, and possessed himself of the knowledge known as "the humanities." Finally—and this was an advantage of no mean kind—he became a perfect courtier.

As to painting, the Court of Urbino supplied Raphael with several motives of composition as varied as they were picturesque. He depicted *Apollo on Parnassus presiding over the Dances of the Muses; The Combat of Love and Chastity;* and combined allegory and contemporary history, by representing the Duchess surrounded by musicians, poets, and warriors, and crowned by Love.

But the hearts of the people of Urbino, after the cruel trials which they had just undergone, were stirred by deeper feelings just then, and Raphael did not fail to portray their patriotism. There can be no doubt that in his pictures of *St. Michael* and of *St. George,* painted for Guidobaldo, he meant to symbolize the defeat of Cæsar and the triumph of the Montefeltri. These free and bold allegories suited his genius.

Raphael had not hitherto dealt with such stirring scenes. For the first time the painter of Madonnas becomes the composer of battle-pieces. But he chooses the Christian rather than the pagan warrior, and his soldiers are saints,—the archangel Michael and St. George, the Cappadocian prince who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, after having, like another Perseus, rescued a princess from the jaws of a dragon.

I know nothing more life-like than this *St. George.* Mounted upon a magnificent white horse, covered with bright armour, the saint has charged the dragon and struck him full in the chest. But the shaft of the lance has broken, the pieces are scattered on the ground, and the monster, howling with agony and rage, rushes after his assailant, whose horse is galloping off. Like the skilled horseman that he is, St. George pulls the horse up short, and, brandishing his sword, makes ready to deal a final blow.

The picture of *St. Michael* is of a different order, for while St. George is represented in the act of combat, the archangel's triumph is unchallenged. He has no need of the proud charger which would alone have immortalized the first picture, and might have dispensed with the shield which protects his left arm, for he has only to bring down his sword to terminate the unequal combat. In order to accentuate the supernatural character of the scene Raphael has represented it as being enacted in the middle of hell. A hideous owl, horrible dragons, figures of the damned devoured by serpents or bowed down beneath the weight of leaden capes, form the *cortège* of

Satan, and a sinister light is cast upon the background by a town in flames. Passavant has shown that these fantastic figures are taken

STUDY FOR THE ST. GEORGE IN THE LOUVRE COLLECTION.
(Uffizi Museum.)

from Dante's description of the punishments inflicted upon hypocrites and thieves.[1]

[1] See *Inferno*, cantos xxiii. xxiv.

CHAPTER VII

THERE is every reason for believing that Raphael only left Urbino to take up his permanent residence in Florence. His establishment there dates, to all appearance, from 1504, though he may possibly have paid flying visits to it before. The distance between Perugia and Florence is not great, and the desire to see a city of which he had heard so much, renders such visits the more probable. This would explain the Florentine influence which is apparent in many of the pictures of his Umbrian period; notably in the predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Vatican.

However this may be, it is certain that in October of 1504 Raphael arrived in the art-capital of Italy. He had asked his protectress, the Duchess Giovanna della Rovere, to give him a letter of introduction to the Gonfalonier Pietro Soderini, and it was under her auspices that he came before the leader of the Florentine Republic. The letter was couched in the most eulogistic terms. The Duchess says: "The bearer of this present is the painter Raphael of Urbino. The talent which he possesses has decided him to come to Florence for some time, so as to perfect himself in his art. His father was dear to me for his many excellent qualities, and I have not less affection for his son, who is a modest and agreeable young man, and one who will, I hope, make all possible progress. This is why I specially recommend him to your lordship, begging you to second him by all the means in your power. I shall look upon the services which you may render him as done to myself, and be under the greatest possible obligation to you."

Florence, when Raphael visited it for the first time, was not very different from what it is to-day, and most of the great buildings which are still the glory of the city which our ancestors called Fiorenze (the city of flowers) were already in existence. In all directions were to be seen straight streets, forming a striking contrast with the tortuous streets of the mountainous towns from which Raphael had last come; lofty and spacious houses built with the fine grey stone on which the ages leave no mark; and palaces, the rugged masonry of which reminds one of what is called cyclopean architecture. Slender mullions, open arcades supported by delicately carved columns, and doors crowned with some bas-relief in terra-cotta, or some piece of sculpture by Donatello, Desiderio or Mino, proved that an era of pleasure was about to succeed one of conflict. Nevertheless the general aspect of

the city was stern and proud, and this impression was heightened by the absence of any gardens within the ramparts.

When Raphael arrived in Florence the expulsion of the Medici, the entry of Charles VIII., the triumph and then the burning of Savonarola, the war against Pisa, the campaigns of Louis XII., and the incessant plots of the Medici's partisans, had so exhausted the finances and unsettled men's minds as to compromise the future of the Renaissance. One of these events must have had a specially great influence upon Raphael, for all Florence was still full of recollections of Savonarola. An ardent champion of religion and a bold reformer of ecclesiastical abuses—burnt as a heretic by the order of Alexander VI., and worshipped as a saint and a prophet by the masses—Girolamo Savonarola left a deep impress upon a society which was, as a rule, inclined to frivolity. They might kill the man, but his ideas lived on, and they must often have been in the mind of Raphael, who was still under the influence of Umbrian mysticism. The figure of the reformer was before him when he painted the *Dispute of the Sacrament*, and he did not hesitate to place in the very Vatican itself, and among the Fathers of the Church, the Dominican monk who had been burnt a few years before by order of the Papal Commissioners.

Raphael at once began to look for the models which he had been unable to find at Perugia and Urbino, and two drawings, one in the Uffizi Museum and the other in the Academy of Venice, show us his studies for the *Apollo and Marsyas* which he painted soon afterwards. M. A. Gruyer points out that they exhibit an instinct for, rather than a knowledge of, antiquity. The same may be said of *The Three Graces*, also painted in Florence.

More than a century had elapsed since Pagan antiquity had, thanks to the efforts of Brunelleschi, Donatello and Ghiberti, regained its ancient power. Architects, painters and sculptors laboured unceasingly to find the lost rules which had guided their glorious predecessors at Athens and Rome. Greek and Roman art, known only by its marbles, bronzes, medals, and stone-carvings, did not however supply painters with any obvious models, and it took them a long time to master principles expressed in a language so different from their own. The Mantuan school was the first to triumph over these difficulties and to embody in pictures and frescoes the lessons taught by the plastic arts of the ancients. At Florence the struggle lasted much longer. It is true that there was no lack of subjects borrowed from the mythology or history of Greece or Rome, and there was even much imitation of ancient ornaments, — volutes,

trophies, and medallions,—but the types, dresses, and composition remained essentially modern. The works of D. Ghirlandajo, Botticelli and Filippino Lippi, prove this beyond all doubt. Their imitation of antiquity was confined to details, and even when they depicted some scene from Roman history, or some Olympian divinity, their inexperience is manifest. Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* is, as Herr Springer has pointed out, a striking proof of this. There is nothing of the antique about the lanky and spare figure, insecurely seated upon a shell, and looking as if she did not know what to do with her hands.

Leonardo da Vinci, the greatest of all the Florentine painters of the Renaissance, was the one who was most free from the trammels of ancient tradition. With his exquisite taste he felt that the works of the Roman sculptors should be used for inspiration rather than imitation. To him it would have seemed slavish to have copied them, and his common sense revolted at the idea of transferring to the domain of painting effects appertaining to so different an art. We have every reason for believing that Raphael, who was at that time in sympathy with the Florentine school, took the same view, and was not at all inclined to introduce into his compositions figures taken bodily from a bas-relief or an antique statue, as he afterwards did in Rome.

Great as was the respect for the antique at Florence in the early part of the sixteenth century, the influence of a more recent and scarcely less fruitful epoch was not less potent. Giotto, the most illustrious master of the Middle Ages, had returned to nature and had founded what we now call the Florentine School. Raphael doubtless did not fail to gaze in frequent and deserved admiration upon those frescoes in Santa Croce which are so full of grace and pathos, but it was from Brunelleschi and Donatello that he learned most. The disciple and rival of these masters, Masaccio, who carried out in painting the principles which they had introduced into architecture and sculpture, exercised a still greater influence over Raphael. No artist, during the fifteenth century, had so dexterously avoided the archaisms of the Giotteschi on the one hand, and the excesses of the new naturalistic school on the other.

When Raphael went to copy the frescoes of Masaccio, the modest chapel in the Carmine Church had long been a place of pilgrimage for Florentine artists. Years afterwards, when he had become the founder of the Roman School, he determined to pay a sincere tribute of admiration to his great predecessor. In his *St. Paul preaching at Athens*, he repeated, to almost the smallest detail, the attitude of *St.*

Paul addressing St. Peter in Prison, and in his *Adam and Eve driven from Paradise* the imitation is equally downright.

Among the other Florentine painters whose works Raphael admired was Domenico Ghirlandajo, whose marvellous frescoes at Santa Maria Novella fascinated him. He was particularly influenced by the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the apse of the church. The figures of the apostles and patriarchs were used by him as models together with those in Fra Bartolommeo's *Last Judgment*, for his fresco at San Severo.

A great struggle was going on at this time between Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, which riveted the attention of all Florence. The whole future of art was at stake; for it was doubtful whether the ultimate triumph would be won by the representative of beauty or of force. Raphael, young as he was, did not hesitate, and from the first took his place among the followers of Leonardo da Vinci. Six years later when at Rome he felt the ascendency of Michael Angelo, and even endeavoured to fight him with his own weapons. Thus he borrowed in turn from the rival artists, but his imitation of Michael Angelo did him much harm, for he sacrificed several of his own best qualities without succeeding in gaining those of his rival.

Vasari has made a mistake in saying that Raphael was attracted to Florence by the wish to see the cartoons executed by Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo for the Council Chamber in the Palazzo Vecchio, for the exhibition of these cartoons did not take place till 1506, more than a year after his arrival in the city. The story of the famous struggle is well known. Leonardo was commissioned, in 1503, to decorate one side of the room; and shortly afterwards the Gonfalonier Pietro Soderini instructed Michael Angelo to paint the opposite side. Leonardo selected for the subject of his cartoon the battle of Anghiari, won by the Florentines in 1440 over the Milanese General Piccinino; Michael Angelo an episode in the war with Pisa, the battle of Cascina, which took place in 1364. When the two cartoons were exhibited in 1506 in the Papal Chamber, near Santa Maria Novella, they excited immense enthusiasm. Good judges hesitated to decide between the rivals, but the masses were in favour of Michael Angelo. From this period the Papal Chamber became, as the Brancacci Chapel had previously been, the school of the artistic youth of Florence. Vasari mentions among its frequenters: Aristotele da San-Gallo, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, F. Granacci, Baccio Bandinelli, Morto da Feltro, Andrea del Sarto, Francia, Bigio, Jacopo Sansovino, Il Rosso Lorenzetti, Jacopo da Pontormo, and Perino del Vaga.

Benvenuto Cellini also worked there, as we know by his own evidence, and Raphael went there for inspiration more than once.

Vasari speaks very strongly of the influence which Leonardo had upon Raphael, "who," he says, "struck by surprise at the view of Leonardo da Vinci's pictures, the figures in which are so full of grace and life, applied himself to the study of his works in preference to those of any other artist with whom he was familiar. Gradually and with much difficulty he abandoned the Peruginesque

SKETCH OF A FIGHT.
(Academy of Fine Arts, Venice.)

manner, and imitated, as much as possible, that of Leonardo; but, in spite of his efforts and application, he could never surpass him in certain respects. The beautiful drawing in the Louvre is an imitation of the Mona Lisa, having the same grave and easy attitude, the same full and simple modelling, and the same expression of voluptuous tenderness. The only thing wanting is the ineffable smile which has for centuries been at once the charm and despair of the admirers of the mysterious Gioconda.

The influence of Leonardo is apparent in many other works which

belong to this period. First there is the portrait of Maddalena Doni. He was happier in the *Terranuova Madonna*, now in the Berlin

STUDY FOR THE PORTRAIT OF MADDALENA DONI.
(Louvre.)

Museum, and still more so in the *Madonna of the Meadow*, in the Belvedere, and the *Holy Family and Lamb*, in the Madrid Museum,

reproducing with some success the melancholy grace and the "morbidezza" of his model, and also gaining some fresh insight into Leonardo's mode of colouring.

The painter who, next to Leonardo, occupied the highest place in Raphael's esteem was one whose style seemed to be most opposed to his own. For what, it might be thought, could there be in common between the brilliant and witty Raphael, the painter who took grace and beauty for his subjects, and Fra Bartolommeo, who was dead to the world, and weighed down by the recollection of a never to be forgotten catastrophe? Left an orphan when very young, a pupil of Cosimo Rosselli, and naturally inclined to mysticism, Bartolommeo, or Baccio, della Porta enthusiastically embraced the doctrines of Savonarola. He was prominent among those who, during the carnival of 1497, fed the famous bonfire lighted for the destruction of the vain gewgaws denounced by him—of the masks, fancy dresses, musical instruments, and even the books and manuscripts, statues and pictures which perpetuated too many recollections of pagan antiquity. The objects consigned to the flames were so valuable that a Venetian merchant offered 22,000 gold ducats for them, but Fra Bartolommeo was quite ready to sacrifice his studies after nature, and so, too, were Lorenzo di Credi and many other artists. Signor Villari says that an octagonal pyramid more than 700 feet in circumference by 180 feet high, was erected upon the Piazza, and upon the fifteen steps of it were laid the articles which had been collected during the carnival. At a given signal, four men set fire to the corners of the pyramid, and as the smoke and flames rose heavenwards the trumpets sounded, the palace bells rang out a peal, and the crowd shouted with joy as if the enemy of the human race had been annihilated.

In after years, when the admiration of the Florentines for Savonarola had turned into hatred, Fra Bartolommeo felt his zeal for the doctrines then discredited revive, and he took up arms for the defence of the monastery of St. Mark, and fought valiantly by the side of the monks. But the efforts of the small band were unavailing, Savonarola was made prisoner, and handed over to his implacable enemies; in this supreme hour of agony, Fra Bartolommeo made a vow that, if he escaped alive, he would enter the Dominican order, and fulfilled it after having painted, in 1499, a fresco which would of itself have sufficed to immortalize his name.

A picture in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence, the *Apparition of the Virgin to St. Bernard*, painted in 1507, gives the best idea of the character of the lessons which Fra Bartolommeo gave to

Raphael. There is an immensity of movement and spirit in this picture, and yet we feel that the artist has left nothing to chance, but has with consummate skill availed himself of all the known resources of his art.

Though of a different kind, the influence which Raphael exercised over the monk was none the less beneficial. Fra Bartolommeo, whose whole mind was concentrated on the general effect of his pictures, gave no time to the study of nature, and was one of the first to substitute lay figures for living models. Companionship with Raphael led him to nature herself, and his figures acquired a more marked stamp of truth, and a more intense expression. The Madonnas now in the cell occupied by Savonarola at St. Mark, show how powerful Raphael's influence was; one of them, representing the Virgin clasping her child to her heart, vividly reminds us of the *Madonna della Casa Tempi.* The composition is almost identical. The intimacy between Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo was never broken off, and in 1514 the latter visited the former at Rome, coming away with an increased admiration for the genius which he had been one of the first to discover. Like Raphael, he died young, being only forty-two years of age when he expired on the 3rd of August, 1517.

Thanks to Perugino's recommendation, Raphael was at once made welcome in Florence. It was in the studio of a celebrated Florentine architect, Baccio d'Agnolo, that he made his most useful acquaintances, for Baccio, like many of his contemporaries, cultivated at the same time architecture, wood carving, and inlaying. At one moment he was superintending the construction of vast palaces, and at another putting together, with the patience of a Hindoo or a Chinaman, tiny pieces of wood intended for the decoration of some cathedral. There was quite an assembly of talent in Baccio's studio. The echo of "bellissimi discorsi" and "dispute d'importanza" reached Vasari, who mentions Raphael as one of the most distinguished of the group, which was composed of Andrea Sansovino, Le Cronaca, Antonio and Giuliano da San-Gallo, Il Granacio, and many other Florentine and foreign artists. Raphael was remarkable for his extreme urbanity and for the tact with which he expressed his views without giving offence. Sometimes, too, there was to be seen there a sallow young man, sombre and taciturn, who scarcely ever opened his lips except to make some sarcastic remark. He was listened to with respect, for though only thirty years of age his name was famous throughout Italy. This was Michael Angelo, and it may have been in Baccio's studio that occurred a scene which was much talked of in Florence. There

was nothing the sculptor disliked more than the naïve style of Perugino, and he was also very much opposed to his mercenary ways. He accordingly refused him permission to see some of his pictures which he did not like showing to any one. Perugino made some severe remark, whereupon Michael Angelo, losing his temper, called him an "old woman." Such an insult was not worth notice, but Perugino would not sit down under it. He decided to appeal to the tribunals, but lost his case, and his reputation declined very much in consequence.

Many as were his friendships, Raphael, during his four years' residence at Florence, was compelled to work for amateurs of the second order, and even for foreigners. The religious communities and civil corporations reserved their orders for native masters, so he had to rely upon the connoisseurs who, by taste or for motives of economy, preferred his easel pictures to the vast compositions of other painters. The Dei were the only family who ordered him to execute an altar-piece—the *Virgin of the Baldacchino*. This chance determined in some measure the character of his works, and an incident of this kind is sometimes sufficient to change the course of a whole school. The sojourn of Raphael at Florence might very properly be called the Madonna period. All the large works which he painted between 1504 and 1508 were, with the exception of the *Madonna del Baldacchino*, ordered not by Tuscany but by Umbria, as it was for his native place that he executed or commenced the altarpiece in the monastery of St. Antony, the San-Severo fresco, the *Ansidei Madonna*, the *Coronation of the Virgin* for the Monte-Luce convent, and the *Entombment*.

Among the Florentine patricians who helped Raphael to make himself known, Taddeo Taddei deserves the first place. He was an enlightened patron of letters and art, and a great friend of the poet Bembo. Taddei took so great a liking to the young artist that he offered him board and lodging, and Raphael readily accepted the offer, but gave his host in return two pictures, one of which, the *Madonna in the Meadow*, now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, ranks among his most beautiful works. In 1508 he wrote as follows to his uncle, Simone Ciarla, informing him that his patron was contemplating a journey to Urbino:—"In the event of Taddeo Taddei, about whom I have often spoken to you, coming to Urbino, pray ask my uncle the priest and my aunt Santa to render him all possible honour. I will ask of you also to do all that you can to oblige him, for I owe him the deepest gratitude."

Taddeo Taddei at that time resided at No. 15 of the Via

San-Gallo. The house in which he entertained the painter is very unpretending, and would not be noticed by the passers-by but for the inscription:

RAFFAELLO DA URBINO
FU OSPITE DI TADDEO DI FRANCESCO TADDEI
IN QUESTA CASA
NEL MDV.

Foreign connoisseurs helped to keep the Florentine studios busy, for Spaniards, French, and Germans were constantly ordering easel pictures. Raphael gained by the favour in which the works of the Florentine school were held, and in the letter to his uncle Simone in 1508 says that one of his patrons has given him orders amounting to 300 ducats for Florence and France. This he considers a great stroke of luck. As will have been gathered, Raphael's Florentine period was more beneficial in the instruction which he gained and in the technical progress which it enabled him to make, than financially. The young artist rapidly reached maturity and produced masterpieces, without either the government or the wealthy protectors who, after the expulsion of the Medicis, had taken art under their patronage, recognizing his existence. There is not a good word about him to be found in the writings of the Tuscan authors, who shower upon third-rate painters the epithets of Zeuxis and Apelles. Albertini, in his valuable *Memoriale di molte statue et pitture sono nella inclyta cipta di Florentia*, printed in 1510, does not so much as mention his name. Nevertheless Raphael never forgot what he owed to Florence.

CHAPTER VIII

The Madonnas which the young artist painted in Florence form an entirely distinct group in his work; for while they are exempt from the mysticism of his Umbrian pictures, they do not display the triumphant beauty of his devotional pictures, when he had become what we may call the official painter of the Catholic Church. In these early works he endeavoured to combine beauty with truth. Maternal tenderness and the joys of childhood are expressed with a freshness and eloquence which almost obliterate their dogmatic side. Indeed, with two or three exceptions, the works which he painted at this time were not altar-pieces, but easel-pictures for private oratorios, or perhaps for the inner rooms of wealthy connoisseurs. Among all

these Madonnas there is scarcely one which has a shade of melancholy or the presentiment of future unhappiness. It seems as if there were no place in the heart of this young mother, as she caresses her child, save for affection, hope, and bright thoughts. This impression is heightened, too, by the almost complete absence of accessories, for it is only here and there that we see the small red cross of St. John the Baptist, or the streamer with the *Agnus Dei*. The halo is not always introduced.

Having neither the scruples of his Umbrian patrons nor the exigencies of the Pontifical court to humour, Raphael here gave free course to his inspirations. Such a chance does not occur twice in a lifetime, and during this short period the master, breaking off with theological tradition, shook himself free of all restraint, recognizing no principle but art for art.

This was the close of that strong and rigorous discipline, worked out by so many generations of artists and theologians, when, as M. Taine has so justly remarked,[1] form or shape alone did not suffice to interest people, and there must be a symbol indicating some august mystery, like the cathedral, which, with its nave and transept, represented the cross on which Christ died; or, like the rose windows with their petals, which represented the eternal rose, each leaf of which is a saved soul, while the dimensions of every part of the building corresponded to certain sacred numbers. The smallest details were then settled by rule, and had a meaning even for the most uneducated, so that art became the auxiliary of religion and the Bible of the unlettered. The artist lost, perhaps, in independence, but he was more than repaid by the current of sympathy which was created between him and the masses. Even with Giotto and his pupils, the types, the attitude, the attributes, and the position of the figures, is in strict accordance with the rules of pictorial theology. The painter who omitted the halo on Christ crucified would have been looked upon as a heretic.

The Florentine naturalists of the fifteenth century were the first to disregard these traditions; and the resistance of Fra Angelico and the Umbrian school was of no avail against the bold innovators, who armed themselves with the two-edged weapon of classic antiquity and nature. The usual saints and apostles were replaced by figures from the life; the halo, which in the picture of the early painters had been incised in the ground, became a mere thread of gold and in some of Raphael's pictures is not visible at all. Even the symbols of the Evangelists disappear in that composition which recalls more

[1] Taine, *Philosophie de l'Art*, p. 127.

vividly than any other the traditions of the Middle Ages—*The Dispute of the Sacrament;* and angels holding the sacred books in their hands take the place of the eagle, the lion, and the ox.

Raphael, as a sincere and a respectful disciple of nature, could not bring himself to sacrifice life and truth to symbolism. His genius—the robust and wholesome genius of the Renaissance—had no sympathy with abstractions, and chose subjects worthy of being painted for their own sake. His figures were in conformity with their character and age—his children are real children—there is never anything theatrical about them. This is the secret of the charm which his Florentine Madonnas have exercised for three centuries.

It is not easy to fix the exact dates of the Madonnas painted by Raphael during his Florentine period, from 1504 to 1508. Vasari merely mentions the *Madonna del Cardellino*, the *Madonna Canigiani*, now at Munich, two small Madonnas given to Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino, and the *Madonna del Baldacchino.*

There is a general agreement that two pen-drawings, one in the Oxford collection and the other in the Louvre, both of which are reproduced here, were among Raphael's earliest Florentine efforts. The Oxford drawing shows traces of the Umbrian manner. Mary, who is drawn full face, her head surrounded by a halo, has the timid and thoughtful attitude of Perugino's Virgins. There is more freedom about the Louvre drawing, and it is more in Raphael's true manner. The Virgin is drawn three-quarters face. She is reading, while her son, seated on her knee, follows her reading and clasps his hands with childlike fervour. The attitude, dress, and expression mark a real progress.

The *Madonna del Gran Duca,*[1] painted at Florence, showed that he had acquired complete command over himself. The modelling became firm and precise to a degree unknown to painters of the Umbrian school, and the colouring much clearer and more brilliant. The cast of face, too, was very different from that which was most popular in and about Perugia; we see no more of the prominent cheek-bones, the very small mouth, and pointed chin. The contours are more oval, the figure more erect, and the Madonnas of this period have more regular features and a more marked personality. There is an exuberance of life and an ease about the attitude of the child which contrasts with the earlier productions of Raphael. The Virgin's

[1] So called because the Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand III. (died in 1824), who had bought it in 1799 for the modest sum of 571 crowns and three lire, was so fond of it that he took it about with him wherever he went, even into exile. The *Virgin of the Grand Duke* has been in the Gallery of the Pitti Palace since 1859.

dress, while not departing from Umbrian simplicity, is more elegant, and though she wears a veil, it is so light that it does not hide her beautiful hair and forehead. There is more care, too, in the choice of colours.

Raphael made several improvements in this picture while it was being painted; in the drawing now in the Uffizi Museum, which represents his first conception, the Virgin's expression is much more

STUDY FOR A MADONNA.
(Oxford University.)

melancholy; her head is almost entirely covered with her mantle, and her right hand drops listlessly by her side. In proportion as the picture itself is instinct with grace and tenderness, the drawing is frigid and lifeless.

In Lord Cowper's small *Madonna*, painted in 1505, and now at Panshanger, the extreme simplicity of the composition is striking. In spite of its beauties, however, it has faults which it would be disingenuous to pass over. The heads of the Mother and of the Child

are too large, and form an unpleasing contrast to the hands, which in many of Raphael's early pictures are as strong as in an antique statue.

The beautiful *Tempi Madonna* in the Pinacotheca at Munich marks another step forward.

The *Little Madonna of the Orleans Family*, which, after many

THE MOTHER AND CHILD.
(Drawing in the Louvre.)

vicissitudes, has become the property of the Duc d'Aumale, is a striking contrast to the *Tempi Madonna;* while one is all life and activity, the chief characteristics of the other are pensiveness and repose.

The larger *Madonna* at Lord Cowper's, also known as the

Niccolini Madonna (signed R. V., MDVIII.), represents the Mother and Child alone.

The *Madonna di Casa Colonna*, which is full of beauty, brings to a close the series of pictures in which Raphael painted the Mother and Child alone; the addition of a third person, the infant St. John,

CHILDREN AT PLAY.

(On the reverse side of drawing on p. 66.)

compelled him to make fresh combinations. In the *Terranuova Madonna* (1505) of the Berlin Museum, there is evidence of this having at first embarrassed him, and as the presence of a third person displaced the centre of gravity in the composition, he endeavoured to re-establish it by introducing a third child doubtless meant for St.

John the Evangelist. In this picture the Virgin is seated in the middle holding upon her knee her son, who takes from the hands of

STUDY FOR A VIRGIN.
(Malcolm Collection.)

St. John the Baptist the streamer bearing the *Agnus Dei*, while the other two children are at the sides. This is not a happy conception,

THE VIRGIN OF THE GRAND DUKE.

(Pitti Gallery.)

for Raphael here introduces into the composition an actor, who, from a chronological point of view, has no business in it. The presence even of the infant St. John frequently detracted from the interest of his pictures, as the painter was obliged to represent the Virgin as dividing her attention between him and her own son.

STUDY FOR A MADONNA.
(Oxford University.)

The *Madonna in the Meadow* (Belvedere Gallery, Vienna,) was conceived under the influence of Leonardo, but the arrangement is wholly Raphael's; here for the first time we find him putting into application the pyramidal grouping which he had so long been studying with his friend, Fra Bartolommeo.

The *Madonna del Cardellino* is arranged in much the same manner as the preceding picture. The Virgin, seated on a moss-covered rock, with her child in front of her, is holding a book from

which she looks up as the infant St. John, trembling with excitement, comes with a beautiful goldfinch which he has just caught. With

THE LITTLE ORLEANS MADONNA.
(In the Duc d'Aumale's Collection.)

her right hand she presses St. John, whom she regards with eyes full of tenderness, towards her son, whose grave expression is in striking

contrast with the cheerfulness of the Virgin and of St. John. He turns slowly round, and without lifting his foot, which is on that of his mother (Raphael reproduces this motive in the *Belle Jardinière*), puts out his hand to stroke the bird.

Four drawings preserved at Oxford (Robinson, Nos. 47, 48, 49), and at Vienna, and another in the Wicar Collection, show us the phases through which the composition passed before reaching its pictorial

STUDY FOR THE MADONNA IN THE MEADOW.
(Albertina Collection.)

stage. In a first study, the Virgin, in a sitting position, is intent upon a book she has in her right hand, while her left is carelessly rested upon the body of her child, who is trying to reach the book, as if to divert her attention. In a second the artist takes a step forward, as there are three figures in the composition. But the main idea of the scene is different again, for the Virgin is reading and the divine Infant and St. John listening attentively. In this study, as in the

THE MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO.

(Uffizi Gallery.)

picture itself, the Infant Jesus has his right foot upon that of His mother. In the interval Raphael made up his mind to work into this scene a motive which he had treated before; that of St. John presenting to his companion the bird he had just caught. Each of the succeeding designs marks a further advance.

The *Madonna del Cardellino* was painted for Lorenzo Nasi, to whom Raphael gave it as a wedding present. Vasari says that Nasi

STUDY FOR THE MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO.
(Albertina Collection, Vienna.)

set great store by this picture, both on account of his friendship with Raphael, and of its great intrinsic beauty. Unfortunately it was all but destroyed in an earthquake which, on November 12, 1547, ruined Nasi's palace. The picture was broken into fragments, and would have been lost if the owner had not had the pieces picked up and put together with such care that one can scarcely trace any signs of the accident. It is now in the Tribune of the Uffizi.

Perhaps the most perfect, and certainly the most famous, of the Madonnas painted at Florence is the *Belle Jardinière* of the Louvre,

STUDY FOR THE MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO.

(Oxford University.)

STUDY FOR THE BELLE JARDINIÈRE.
(In the Louvre.)

in which Raphael has given free expression to his love for the beauties of nature. He has painted the tufts of grass, the plants and flowers of the foreground (strawberry plants, spurge, crane's bill, plantain) with a freshness and precision which the Van Eycks could scarcely have excelled, but, like a true Italian, he does not damage the *ensemble* for the details.

The composition of the *Holy Family with the Lamb*, in the Madrid Museum, differs widely from the preceding pictures, though it gives evidence of no less consummate skill. In this, Raphael endeavoured to group his figures in the shape of a pyramid, while in the Madrid picture he arranges his figures in the shape of a right-angled triangle. The characters are represented in diminishing proportions from right to left. First of all comes St. Joseph, standing upright and leaning on a staff; lower down the Virgin in a half-kneeling posture, and then the divine Infant astride a lamb, with his arms clasped round the animal's neck. The background of the composition is a beautiful landscape.

The *Holy Family with the Palm Tree* (Bridgewater Gallery) is also a work apart from the series which we have been considering, and shows that Raphael did not intend to confine himself to a single mode of composition. While this work has all the Florentine charm, it has the gravity which marks the Madonnas of the Roman period.

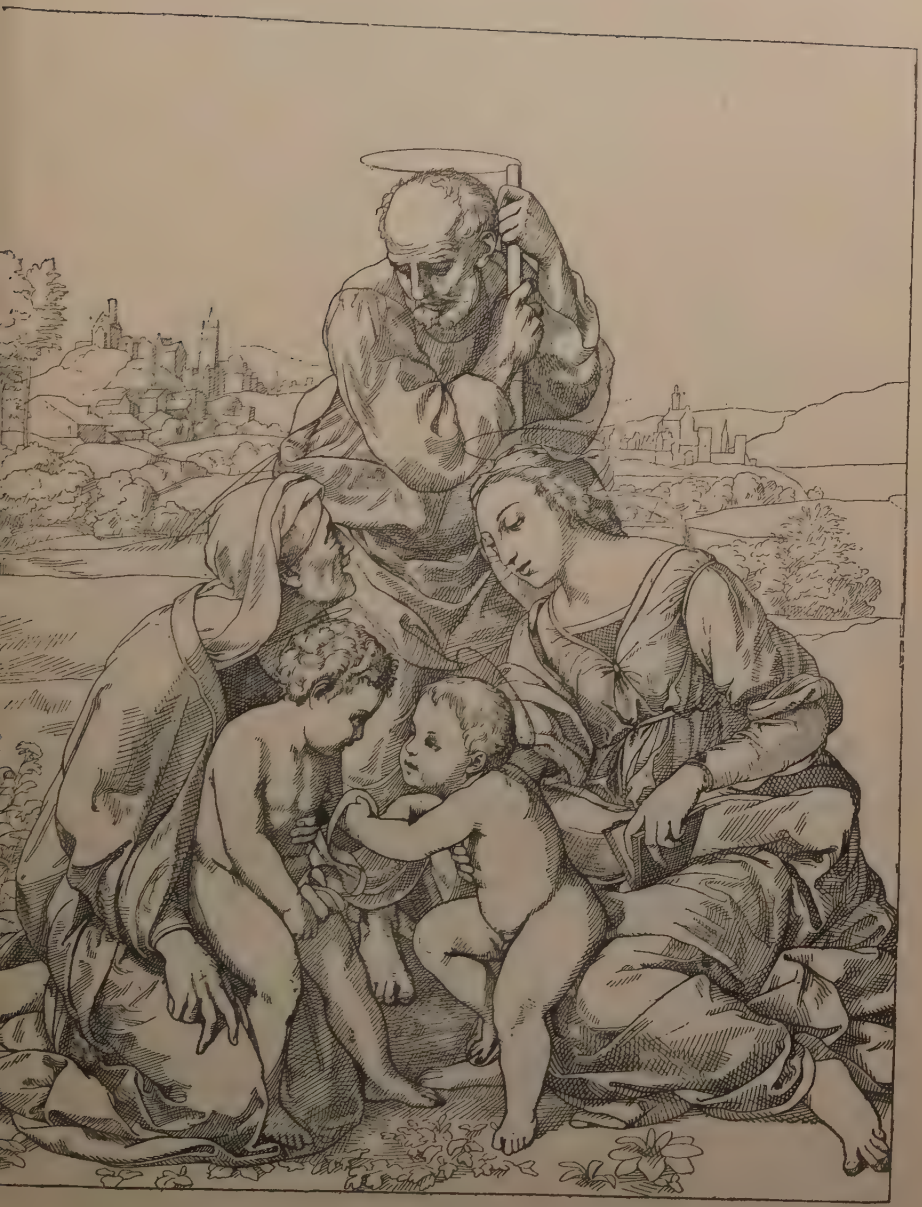
The *Holy Family of the Casa Canigiani*, now in the Pinacoteca at Munich, shows how easily he could bring two fresh actors on to the well-known scene without departing from the lines of his earlier Madonnas. The only difference is that the composition is much wider at its base. The two mothers, in a half-kneeling posture, the one old and wrinkled, the other resplendent with youth and grace, are each holding their child by the hand, and the son of Mary is tendering to his young comrade the banner with the words *Ecce Agnus Dei*. But St. John regards him with more surprise than fervour, and seems afraid to go up to him.

A pen-drawing belonging to the Duc d'Aumale, shows us through what phases the composition passed before being finally painted. The two mothers are represented nude; but while Raphael took a female model for his drawing of the Virgin, it was a man who posed for the figure of St. Elizabeth.

We have good ground for adding to Raphael's Holy Families the sketch which he made about 1508 for his friend Domenico Alfani of Perugia, and sent with the following letter: "Domenico, do not fail to send me Ricciardo's lines with regard to the tempest which he

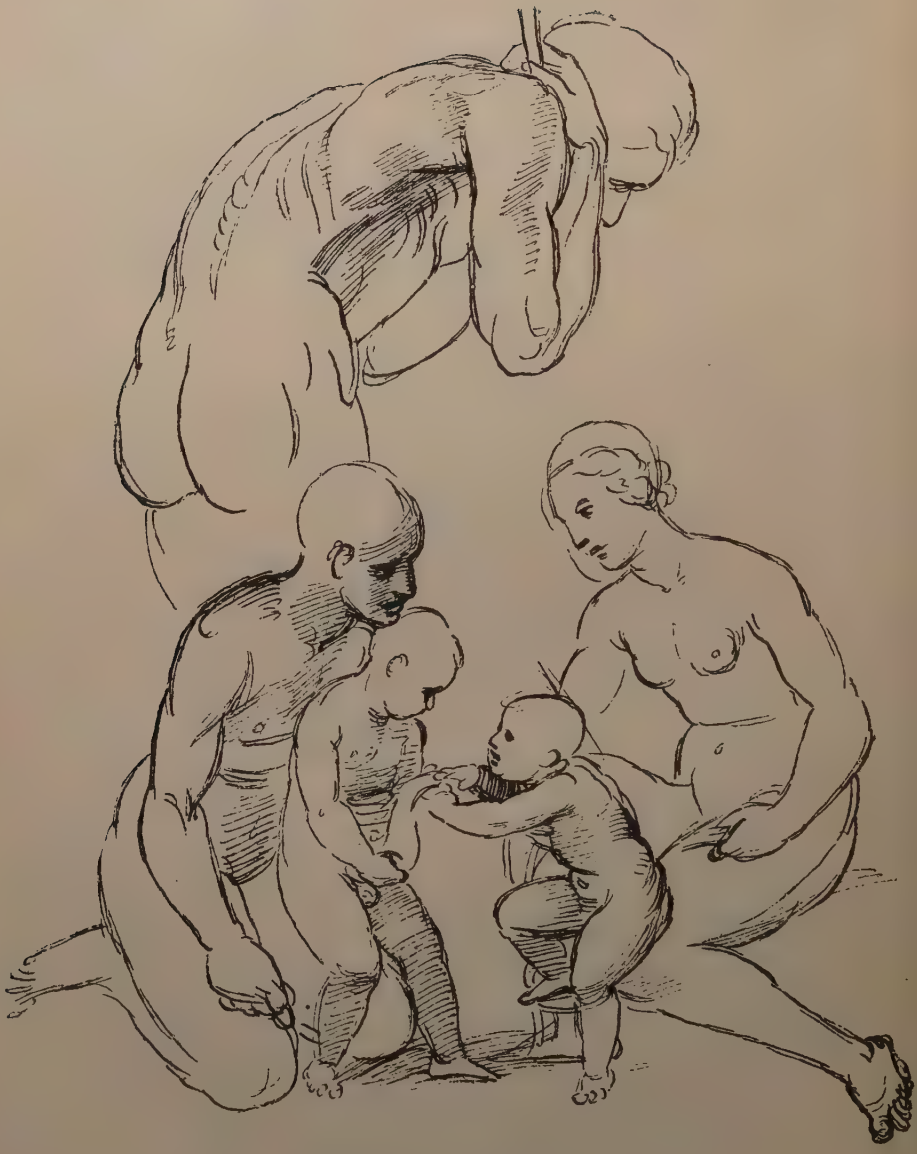
STUDY FOR THE MADONNA IN THE BRIDGWATER GALLERY.

(From the Drawing in the Louvre.)



THE HOLY FAMILY OF THE CASA CANIGIANI.

(In the Gallery at Munich.)

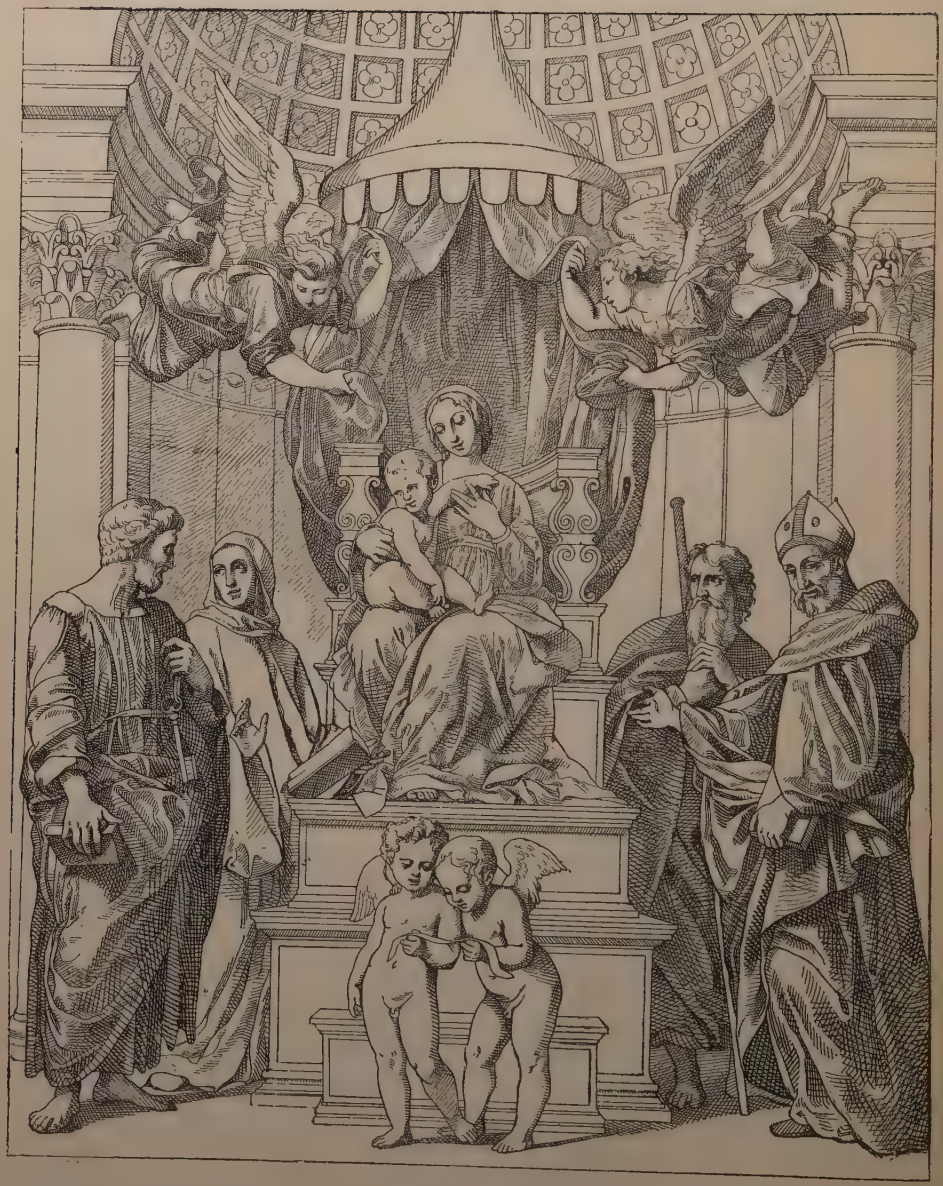


STUDY FOR THE HOLY FAMILY OF THE CASA CANIGIANI.

(In the Duc d'Aumale's Collection.)

SKETCH FOR A HOLY FAMILY.

(Wicar Museum.)



THE MADONNA DEL BALDACCHINO.

(Pitti Gallery.)

STUDY FOR THE ESTERHAZY MADONNA.

(Uffizi.)

encountered during his voyage;[1] remind Cesarino also of the sermon (la Predica) which he promised to let me have, and remember me kindly to him. I beg you also to remind Madonna Atalanta to send me the money. Try and get gold; and ask Cesarino to jog her memory as well. If I can be of any service to you, let me know." This sketch, now in the Wicar Collection, so pleased Domenico that he copied it exactly in a picture which has been placed in the Gallery in the town-hall of Perugia.

The qualities which are to be found in these works were fully developed in the *Madonna del Baldacchino*, in which the artist, no longer restricted to the dimensions of an easel-picture, was able to give free scope to his wealth of imagination, skill in grouping and mastery of decorative effects. In this picture Raphael represents the Queen of Heaven surrounded by angels and receiving the homage of apostles, saints, and doctors. In the hollow of a niche formed by two pillars and surmounted by a panelled cupola, rises the throne upon which the Virgin is seated with her Child. Two angels, hovering in the air, hold back the curtains of the Baldacchino which hang above the throne. The Child is looking with an air at once playful and affectionate towards St. Peter, who, standing in the foreground of the picture, is carrying on a grave discussion with a Carthusian monk, doubtless meant for St. Bernard. There is an indescribable vitality, ease, and grace about the Child's attitude.

To complete this list we must name the *Madonna with the Two Children*, in the Esterhazy Gallery at Pesth, but there are grave doubts about its authenticity.

CHAPTER IX

WHILE Raphael was endeavouring to find a new ideal for the Virgin and the Infant Jesus, he began to make experiments in the most difficult branch of his art, viz. portrait-painting. We have seen that he reproduced both with pencil and pen, and with a precision which would not be disowned by modern realists, the models which he required as types for his religious compositions, merely modifying his sketches when he proceeded to paint the picture for which they were prepared. But he could not do this in portrait-painting.

[1] Herr Grimm has proved (*Das Leben Raphaels von Urbino*, Berlin, 1872, p. 373) that Raphael alludes in this passage to Ricciardetto, Orlando's brother, a personage in Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*.

Having before him a certain model, he was unable to sacrifice or alter the smallest detail, a likeness being the primary condition with which he had to comply, and yet his artistic instinct told him that the most accurate copy was not deserving of the title of portrait,

STUDY FOR THE PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG GIRL.
(Wicar Museum.)

unless it succeeded in interesting us in the subject of it, and creating a real individuality.

Raphael's first visit to Florence does not seem to have been a

prolonged one, for in 1505 he was at Perugia, where he spent the best part of the year. Two important works date from this period, the *Holy Family of the Convent of St. Anthony* (begun in 1504), and the fresco of San Severo. On December 29, 1505, he received the commission for a *Coronation of the Virgin* for the nuns of Monteluce, near Perugia, and perhaps those for the *Ansidei Madonna* and the *Entombment*, though he did not paint them until two years afterwards. The contract for the convent of Monteluce shows that Raphael even then had the reputation of being the "greatest painter in the district," as those very words were used. The nuns paid him thirty gold ducats on account of the retable, which was not, however, finished until after his death by his pupils Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni.

The nuns requested Raphael to paint the Virgin, the Infant Jesus, and St. John the Baptist with St. Paul and St. Cecilia on one side, and St. Peter and St. Catharine of Alexandria on the other. God the Father and two angels are represented in the lunette, and into the predella were introduced Christ on the Mount of Olives, the Spasimo, Christ after Death, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Antony of Padua. The two last are in the Dulwich gallery.

The two upper divisions of the altar-piece, after having formed part of the royal collection at Naples, became the property of the Duke di Ripalda, and are now in the South Kensington Museum, where they were deposited by the ex-king of Naples, to whom they were left by the Duke di Ripalda.

We will examine the three principal fragments; for though Raphael looked upon them as mere accessories of a larger composition, each of them has for us the importance of a true historical picture. He had already painted *Christ on the Mount of Olives* for Duke Guidobaldo, and if he recurred to the same subject we may be sure that it was against his will. If he could have had his own way he would have banished from the domain of art the spectacle, and even the idea, of pain. He represented, with sincerity and conviction, Christ kneeling by a rock praying fervently, three of His disciples near Him overtaken by sleep, and an angel flying down from heaven with the cup of agony. This picture now belongs to Lady Burdett Coutts.

The *Spasimo*, or *Christ carrying the Cross*, was also not a subject in harmony with Raphael's predilections, but having undertaken the task, he set himself to perform it with zeal. His composition is in the form of a frieze. At the head of the procession come two horsemen, one of whom is represented as a Turk with a turban and a

THE HOLY FAMILY OF THE CONVENT OF ST. ANTHONY AT PERUGIA.
(South Kensington Museum.)

flowing tunic reaching to the ankles. Then comes Our Lord, surrounded by executioners and soldiers armed with swords and halberds. One of them drags Him by the rope fastened round His body, and another strikes Him. The Divine Martyr, bruised and exhausted, wears a touching look of resignation, while Simon the Cyrenean, in the dress of the Renaissance, tries to relieve Him by carrying the cross. To the left are, the Virgin—who falls fainting into the arms of her companions—and St. John, in an attitude of agonized grief. This group is borrowed from the *Deposition* of Filippino Lippi and Perugino (Academy of Fine Arts, Florence).

In the last of these fragments, the *Dead Christ*, or *Pieta* (in Mrs. Dawson's collection, London), the motive is excessively simple. Christ's body is resting against His mother's knees; while one of the disciples helps her to hold her precious burden, two other disciples express their grief with eloquent gestures, and Mary Magdalene throws herself on the ground and kisses with passionate respect the bleeding feet of her Lord.

The Camalduli of Perugia having asked Raphael to decorate one of the walls of the sacristy of San Severo, he gladly acceded to their request, being anxious to try his hand at fresco-painting. The subject selected was the gathering of the saints of their order around the Trinity. A modern inscription, placed upon the façade of the monastery, relates how the master and the pupil, the one scarcely arrived at first maturity, the other bowed beneath the weight of years, both worked at the fresco of San Severo:

QVID RAPHAEL PVBER LONGAEVVS QVIDQVE VALERET
PETRVS, OPVS MVRO DVCTVM TESTATVR EODEM.

Other inscriptions, at the foot of the wall, which is covered with Raphael's composition above and with that of Perugino below, give the date of the execution of these two works: 1505 for the one, and 1521 for the other.[1]

[1] This is the text of the inscriptions, the spelling of which has been incorrectly rendered by Passavant :—

RAFAEL DE URBINO
D. OCTAVIANO STEPHANI VOLATERANO, PRIORE
SANCTAM TRINITATEM, ANGELOS ASTANTES, SANCTOSQ.
PINXIT A. D. M. D. V.
PETRUS DE CASTRO PLEBIS PERUSINUS
TEMPORE D. SILVESTRI STEPHANI VOLATERANI
A DEXTRIS ET A SINISTRIS DIV. CHRISTIPHERAE
SANCTOS SANCTASQ. PINXIT A. D. M. D. XXI.

The fresco of San Severo has unfortunately suffered from damp, and it has been injured by clumsy efforts at restoration. No words are strong enough to brand the conduct of the Vandals who, in the middle of the nineteenth century, dared to lay their hands upon such a masterpiece and to re-paint figures of Raphael's creation.

He had not time to decorate the lower part of the wall, but this was of less importance because his composition, in its present form, is complete. The Camalduli, however, were anxious that the work should be finished, and after his death asked (in 1521) Perugino to carry on the decoration of this part of the chapel. The aged artist must have sunk very low to have accepted such a proposal, but he at once painted six saints of the most lamentable description beneath the admirable work of his immortal pupil.

Next to this, in order of date, is generally placed the *Ansidei Madonna*, ordered by the Ansidei family for the chapel of St. Nicholas of Bari, in the church of San Fiorenza at Perugia, and now in the National Gallery, having been bought in 1885 for £70,000, from the Duke of Marlborough. It was long thought that this picture was dated MDV.; but a more careful examination showed that it was dated two years later. The composition, correct, though not very original, is that of the pictures known under the generic name of "Santi Conversazioni," the only difference being that the characters, generally very numerous in compositions of this kind, are here limited to four. In the centre is the Virgin, on a lofty throne, holding on her lap the Divine Infant, whom she is teaching to read; to the right, St. Nicholas of Bari, in his episcopal robes, reading; to the left, St. John the Baptist. The throne of the Virgin is surmounted by a canopy, and the background of the picture is a landscape, with a fortified town, while the whole composition is inclosed in the bay of an arcade.

The predella of the *Ansidei Madonna*, which has for some time been separated from the picture, contains scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, one of which, *St. John Preaching*, is now in England.

In 1506, Raphael was again at Urbino. He probably did not start before the month of March, for the plague was raging at Urbino until about that time, and Guidobaldo, who had passed the winter at Rome, did not return to his capital until the end of February. We know, moreover, that when Baldassare Castiglione went to England on the 10th of July he took with him as a present for Henry VII. the picture of *St. George*, which the Duke of Urbino had ordered from Raphael.

Vasari, who only speaks of one visit to Urbino, says that Raphael painted for Guidobaldo a *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane*, and two Madonnas of small dimensions but singularly beautiful, in his second manner. Raphael seems also to have painted the portrait of the Duchess Elisabetta, for we know that Castiglione possessed a likeness from his friend's hand of "una bellissima et principalissima signora," and that he wrote on the back of it two sonnets composed in honour of the lady in question.

He painted his own portrait during this visit, and left it as a souvenir with his friends. Passavant asserts that the picture now in the Uffizi Gallery is the one painted at Urbino. The artist is represented three-quarters face, with a black cap, from under which his thick chestnut hair falls almost to his shoulders, while a tight-fitting black doublet, only the upper part of which is visible, brings out the lines of his long and flexible neck. The complexion is rather sallow, the eyes brown, the nose pointed and straight, the chin round, while the forehead betokens nobility rather than strength of character, and the whole countenance is somewhat elongated. There is little regular beauty; but the expression is tender and full of distinction; while the mouth is at once serious and pleasant, the expression of the eyes is as clear as it is deep. Though Raphael was then three-and-twenty, his face was still very youthful, being free from all sign of beard or moustache, and it was not till three or four years later that he began to have a little down on his upper lip.

The Uffizi portrait has been much damaged by clumsy attempts at restoration, but there are, fortunately, two old copies preserved, one in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, the other in the Albani palace at Urbino, which show that no essential detail has been altered.

The similarity of handling and a certain likeness in the features justify us in placing next to Raphael's portrait of himself that of a woman in the Tribune of the Uffizi Gallery, who was possibly a member of his family. There is a poetry and a distinction about it worthy of Leonardo himself. Nothing can be more admirable than the expression of melancholy which characterizes this woman. The execution of this picture is marvellous, and we see in it the work of a colourist of a very high order.

Urbino seems to have developed in Raphael his most poetic ideas. In 1506 as in 1504 the gentle and retiring painter of the Madonna suddenly appears as a man of war, and there is as much spirit and fire in his *St. George with a Lance*, in the hermitage at St. Petersburg, as there is in his *St. George with a Sword*, in the Louvre, as may be seen from the facsimile, which we give, of a study for the picture.

LA MADONNA ANSIDEI.

PORTRAIT OF RAPHAEL.

(Uffizi Museum.)

PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN.

(Uffizi Museum.)

This work was produced by Raphael for Duke Guidobaldo, who, struck by the beauty of the *St. Michael* and the *St. George with a Sword*, commissioned him to paint another St. George for Henry VII. of England, who had just made him a Knight of the Garter. The word "*Honi*," on the garter which the saint wears over his armour, is very clear proof of the destination of the picture, which was taken to England by Castiglione when he went over to receive the insignia of the order. It must therefore have been finished by the 16th of July, on which day Castiglione started on his journey. After having been for some time in the royal collections of England, it has now found its way to the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

In the interval between the painting of the Louvre *St. George* and this picture Raphael had studied Donatello's wonderful little bas-relief at Or' San Michele. So perfect a model could not fail to make an impression upon him, and he copied it almost to the letter. There are, however, one or two slight variations which show that Raphael was no servile imitator.

The beautiful little picture of the *Three Graces* seems also to have been painted at Urbino; and the impression produced upon Raphael by the group at Siena was so deep that, not satisfied with fixing it in his memory by a hasty sketch, he determined to see whether he could not rival the work of the Greek sculptor. While following it in the arrangement of the figures, he gave them attitudes and proportions which seemed to him more appropriate to painting. Raphael has painted three Italian girls of the sixteenth century, and not antique goddesses.

In all probability, Raphael availed himself of his stay at Urbino to make an excursion to Bologna, whither he was attracted by the wish to make the acquaintance of Francesco Francia, whose celebrity as a goldsmith and painter had long been universal. Francia, moreover, had been master to one of his dearest friends, Timoteo Viti, and a close intimacy soon sprang up between them, though Francia, then fifty-five years of age, was so much Raphael's senior. Proofs of this intimacy exist in the letter which Raphael wrote to him in 1508 to thank him for having painted his portrait. Raphael also entrusted Francia with the task of putting in its place and retouching, if necessary, his picture of *St. Cecilia*. Perhaps, too, it was by Francia that Marc Antonio was introduced to Raphael, about 1510.

In the second half of 1506, or in the beginning of 1507 at the latest, Raphael returned to Florence, and painted three very different works, *Apollo and Marsyas*, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, and the

Entombment. It would be impossible to imagine a more refined, harmonious, or divine figure than that of the young god in the *Apollo and Marsyas.* Standing erect, his fair hair flowing in the wind, with one hand resting upon his flank and the other raised level with his head, he is looking disdainfully at his rival, who is sitting before him and playing the flute. The *St. Catherine of Alexandria,* in the National Gallery, is the first, in date, of those charming figures, which form a class apart in the works of Raphael. It paves the way for the *Three Virtues* in the *Entombment,* the *St. Margaret, St. Cecilia* of Bologna, and so many others. The original cartoon, scarcely less beautiful than the painting itself, is in the Louvre.

The *Entombment* in the Borghese Gallery dates from the stay of Raphael at Perugia; it was intended for the church of San Francesco at Perugia, and was ordered by Atalanta Baglioni. A few years before, her son, Griffone, taking advantage of some marriage festivities, had massacred a whole family belonging to a hostile faction. Atalanta and Griffone's wife fled from Perugia in horror, but hearing that he, in turn, had been attacked by the friends of the victims, hurried back and found him dying. All the other persons present withdrew. Atalanta threw herself upon him and begged him to forgive his assassins. This he did, and she then gave him her blessing, and soon after he breathed his last. In commissioning Raphael to paint the *Entombment,* Atalanta wished to find consolation in contemplating the grief of another unhappy mother.

Raphael took extraordinary pains in elaborating this composition, as is shown by many studies preserved in the Louvre, the Uffizi, the Albertina collection, the British Museum, the University of Oxford, and the collections of Messrs. Malcolm, Birchall, and Gay. He hesitated for some time in his choice of the subject, and Sir J. C. Robinson has clearly shown that he at first intended to paint a *Deposition.*

A famous picture by Perugino, the *Deposition,* now in the Pitti Palace, must have forced itself on the attention of Raphael when he began the first series of his studies. This beautiful work was deserving of his admiration. The grouping, though not exempt from a certain timidity, is lifelike and full of movement; the attitudes, gestures, and expression are of a beauty which has never been surpassed.

A drawing at Oxford (Robinson, No. 37) shows that Raphael had the composition of his late master before him when he commenced the picture ordered by Atalanta Baglioni. The body of Christ rests

on the knees of His mother and Mary Magdalene; to the left three women are supporting or consoling the grief-stricken Virgin, and to

STUDY FOR THE ST. GEORGE AT ST. PETERSBURG.
(Uffizi Museum.)

the right are Joseph of Arimathea, St. John, and two other disciples. A second drawing in the same collection (Robinson, No. 38) contains

studies after nature for the body of Christ and four disciples, all nude. Lastly, the beautiful Louvre drawing, reproduced here, contains so perfect a study for the central group, that it seems as if all the artist had to do was to transfer his composition to the panel.

But a sudden change came over Raphael, and he gave up the idea of the *Deposition* and determined to represent the *Entombment*. This time it was the leader of the Mantuan school, Mantegna, whom he took as his guide. He had copied, from the *Book of Studies* at Venice, a print by the Paduan engraver, representing the same subject, and he determined to take it as the basis of his new composition.

In the studies for the *Deposition*, Christ is lying upon His mother's knees, while His disciples and friends give unrestrained vent to their grief. In the *Entombment*, the composition is more complex and diversified. The first unmistakable sign of Michael Angelo's influence over Raphael is to be seen in these preparatory drawings for the Borghese *Entombment*. Up to this moment, we are pretty sure that he never dissected, that he knew the structure of the human body only from the drawings of Pollajuolo, Leonardo and Fra Bartolommeo.

In another Oxford drawing (Robinson, No. 43) he is following out the same problem. Again in a drawing, formerly part of the Malcolm collection, he carries his new studies so far as to copy a skeleton placed in the attitude which he intends to assign to the Virgin. Stronger proof of the influence of Michael Angelo could hardly be given. But the figure of Christ is clearly inspired to some extent by that sculptured by Buonarroti for St. Peter's.

A passage from Vasari, which is very important in its bearing on the history of Raphael's development, apparently refers to these efforts. He says—

"It was only after long efforts that Raphael succeeded in appreciating the beauty of undraped figures and in triumphing over the difficulties of foreshortening. He finally did so by studying the cartoons drawn by Michael Angelo for the Council-Room at Florence. Until he wished to change and improve his style he never made any thorough study of the nude, having hitherto only drawn after nature in the manner of Perugino, his master, and with the addition of that graceful expression which seems in his case to be a natural gift. He accordingly set himself to compare the muscular structure of bodies which had been flayed with that of living subjects, and to study the effects of its mechanism upon the various parts or upon the human body as a whole. He also studied the articulations of the bones, the

STUDY FOR THE ENTOMBMENT.
(Mr. Malcolm's Collection.)

junctions of the tendons, and the whole network of the veins, thus gradually building up the knowledge necessary to a painter." The influence of Michael Angelo was not confined to anatomy. In a drawing, now at the Albertina, for the *Charity* in the predella of the *Entombment*, Raphael has even contrived to remind us of the ruder and more downright qualities of his rival.

THE ENTOMBMENT.
(Borghese Gallery, Rome.)

The *Entombment* was completed in 1507. In it three distinct influences can be traced: that of Mantegna, from whom Raphael borrowed the framework of the composition; that of Michael Angelo; and that of Perugino, whose *Deposition* served as a model for the

group of the Virgin and her companions. The last-named picture had already been made use of by Raphael in his *Christ carrying the Cross*, in St. Antony at Perugia.

It must be admitted that, in spite of beauties of the highest order, the *Entombment* is less captivating than many of Raphael's other compositions. This was only natural, for the production of it had been too laborious. Moreover it cannot too often be repeated that such a subject was too much opposed to the liking of the artist to be treated with complete success. This he probably felt himself, and did not attempt a similar subject for some time. In fact, he only made three other attempts: once in the beautiful drawing in the Louvre, which represents the Virgin standing over the body of her Son; in the *Christ carrying the Cross*, or *Spasimo di Sicilia;* and in the *Descent from the Cross.* The predella of the *Entombment* is conceived in a very different spirit.

A document, recently discovered by Signor A. Alippi, of Urbino, proves that Raphael paid another visit to his native town in 1507, for on the 11th of October in that year an agreement was drawn up, by which "Raphael, painter, son of Giovanni Santi," agreed to pay to the heirs of Serafino Cervasi of Montefalcone a sum of 100 ducats, of forty Bolognese pieces each, for a house purchased from them. The agreement refers to a collusive receipt previously given to Raphael, and declares it to be null and void.

The hundred ducats were intended to be applied in payment of a fine which the Cervasi family had been condemned to pay by the ducal chamber at Urbino. The artist promises to pay forthwith the sum of twelve and a half ducats into the hands of Francesco Buffo, representative of Duke Guidobaldo, thirty-seven and a half ducats whenever called upon to do so, and the remainder at Christmas, 1507. This document proves that the relations of Raphael with his native town, family, and the ducal court were closer than has hitherto been supposed. We now know that he visited Urbino in 1504, 1506, and 1507; and these frequent visits are explained by the ease with which he could get there from Perugia. It was not more than two days' journey with a good horse, and Raphael was much at Perugia in 1507, as he was busy with the *Entombment.* This was the last time he visited his home, but he was kept well informed of all that took place in Urbino.

When the *Entombment* was finished, Raphael reverted at once to his favourite subject, the Madonna. One of his letters proves that Madonnas were specially sought after by foreigners. In this letter we see him cheerful and full of confidence. Raphael's letters are so

scarce that no excuse is needed for giving one which he wrote to his uncle Simone, on April 21, 1508:

"Dear as a Father—

"I have received your letter informing me of the death of our illustrious lord, the Duke; may God have mercy upon his soul; I could not, in truth, read your letter without shedding tears. But 'transeat.' We cannot alter it, and must submit with resignation to God's will. I wrote the other day to my uncle the priest, begging him to send me the small picture which served as a lid to the *Madonna della Prefettessa*. He has, however, not done so, and I shall be pleased if you will remind him of it, that I may content the lady. You are aware that one may have to ask a service from her or hers.

"I beg of you also, my very dear uncle, to tell the priest and (aunt) Santa that if the Florentine, Taddeo Taddei, of whom we have often talked, comes to Urbino, they are to entertain him with the best they can afford. You, too, out of regard for me, will show him all possible attention, for I am under greater obligations to him than to any one else.

"I have not put a price upon the picture, and shall avoid doing so if possible, for it will be better for me to leave the valuation to them. That is why I did not write to you on the subject. According to what the owner of the picture tells me, he will give me orders to the extent of 300 gold ducats, either for here or for France. After the *fêtes* are over, I shall perhaps be able to let you know the price of the picture, of which I have already prepared the cartoon, and after Easter we will see about painting it.

"I should much like, if possible, to get a letter of introduction from the Prefect for the Gonfalonier of Florence. I wrote a few days back to uncle and to Giacomo da Roma, begging them to procure it for me. It would be very useful to me on account of a certain studio which his Excellency can dispose of as he pleases. I beg of you to send me this letter if possible. I think that if the Prefect is asked for it on my behalf he will not refuse. Recommend me most especially to him as his former servitor and familiar. No other news for the moment. Remember me to Master . . . (left in blank), and to Ridolfo and all the others. xxi. April, MDVIII.

"Your RAPHAEL, Painter at Florence."

As Raphael is setting out for Rome, and as a new world is opening before him, let us review this early period. In 1508 he was only twenty-five years of age, and he had already filled with his works

Umbria, Tuscany, the duchy of Urbino, and Bologna. About sixty pictures (Passavant describes fifty-five oil-paintings), an immense fresco, and numberless drawings testify to his inexhaustible powers of production. Wherever he went he displayed the greatest modesty in regard to existing schools, and an unparalleled faculty of imitation, ending always by becoming the rival of his former masters. Perugino and his pupils, Pinturicchio, Timoteo Viti, and Francia recognized his genius, and Fra Bartolommeo was proud to be able to give him a few hints. The municipalities, monasteries, and connoisseurs of Perugia, Città di Castello and Florence, encouraged him, and the Duke of Urbino was glad to be his patron.

CHAPTER X

In the month of April 1508, Raphael was still in Florence, but by September of that year at the latest he had settled in Rome, and appears to have been at once employed by the Pope. The work reserved for him by Pope Julius II. was brilliant enough, for while Bramante was entrusted with the rebuilding of St. Peter's and Michael Angelo with the Papal Mausoleum and the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, Raphael had the decoration of the apostolic palace.

Twice the capital of the world, the cradle of two civilizations which have in turn subdued humanity, Rome, sadly as she had been mutilated, was then the most beautiful of cities. Antiquity and the Middle Ages shone with equal splendour there, while the Renaissance, shedding light and life all around it, was building up a new world by the side of the old.

When Raphael settled in the Eternal City, Rome was not only capital of the Arts, she was the arbiter of Europe. Military glory was superadded, as of old, to the spiritual government of the world. Italy trembled before Julius II., and Spain, France, England, and Germany either sought his friendship or felt the weight of his displeasure. He who had sent for the young painter of Urbino and had put him in the way of achieving so much, was the most energetic of sovereigns, the most ardent of adversaries, and the most spirited of commanders—a Soldier in the guise of a Pope.

He had little taste for literature. "Why represent me with a book in my hand?" he said to Michael Angelo. "I am no scholar; give me a sword."

While sparing of his encouragement to letters, he was lavish in his patronage of artists. He loved art almost too ardently, and the grandest conceptions pleased him best. When Michael Angelo pointed out that the construction of his mausoleum would cost 100,000 ducats, he said, with a shrug of the shoulders, "You may spend twice as much." He divined the ability of Raphael at once and summarily dismissed the painters employed at the Vatican—Signorelli, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and others, whom he had assembled a few months before, so as to leave the field free for the new-comer; but while he loaded

VIEW OF THE VATICAN IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
(After an old engraving.)

architects, painters, and sculptors with benefits and commissions, he did little to encourage goldsmiths, embroiderers, and jewellers.

It is easy to understand that these secondary arts, to which his predecessors had shown such great favour, failed to win the attention of a Pope who was busy with the reconstruction of St. Peter's. This gigantic enterprise was enough to intimidate even Julius; but he foresaw that in the event of success he would eclipse all the Popes of the Renaissance. Though he created the beautiful courtyard of the Belvedere, opened the Via Giulia, restored and enlarged the basilica of the Santi Apostoli, and that of San Pietro in Vincoli, and so many

other edifices to which his name is attached, and though he commis-

PORTRAIT OF JULIUS II.
(Uffizi.)

sioned Michael Angelo to paint the Sistine Chapel and to carve his *Moses*, and Raphael to decorate the Camera della Segnatura, he would

only have ranked with some of the many great patrons of art during the Renaissance had it not been for the restoration of St. Peter's.

It is admitted that, previous to the reconstruction of St. Peter's, the ideas of Julius II. underwent several modifications. Being anxious to utilize the immense foundations laid by Nicholas V., he at first thought of building his mausoleum there, and requested Bramante and Giuliano da San-Gallo to study the question. The project gradually assumed larger dimensions, and the final result was the adoption of a plan differing from that of Nicholas V., but not less grandiose, viz. the rebuilding of the whole basilica in the Renaissance style. On January 6, 1506, Julius II. wrote to inform the King of England of his resolve, and ask for his assistance; and on the 8th of April following the first stone was laid with befitting pomp. All Europe was moved at the announcement, and while some regretted the demolition of so many relics of the past, the majority approved the step. Subscriptions poured in; a single Franciscan monk brought 27,000 ducats; yet even this enterprise, which was intended to tighten the bonds which connected Rome with Christians all over the world and to mark the supreme triumph of the Papacy, detached millions of believers from the Church. For it need hardly be said that the direct and immediate cause of the Reformation was the method chosen to pay for the reconstruction of the great basilica.

The Sacred College, which was then composed of thirty members —the total was raised to forty-eight under Leo X.—included several cardinals celebrated for their luxury and love of art. The Dean of the College, Domenico Raffaelo Riario, who had worn the purple since the reign of Sixtus IV., displayed a truly regal pomp, but the patronage he accorded to Perugino, Peruzzi, and Bramante, and his commission to Raphael for the *Loretto Madonna*, contributed more to his glory than this, and he immortalized his name by building the great Palace of the Chancellery.

The Venetian Cardinal, Domenico Grimani, formed a museum and a library of 8000 volumes in the Palace of St. Mark, which was built by his compatriot Paul II., and eventually bequeathed them to Venice. He loved ancient manuscripts and Flemish pictures; he had a Raphael, too, for he had managed to procure the cartoon (now lost) of one of the Sistine tapestries, the *Conversion of St. Paul*, the only one which ever returned to Italy.

The Curia, properly so called, contributed even more than the College of Cardinals to make the pontifical court the most witty and refined in the world. The "Curials" numbered among others Leon-

ardo d'Arezzo, Poggio, and his colleague Antonio Loschi, Platina, and Hans Burckhard, of Strasburg, the punctilious master of the ceremonies under Alexander VI., who in his famous *Diarium*, notices with equal care small matters of etiquette and his master's crimes. A little later, at about the time of Raphael's arrival, Bibbiena, Bembo, Inghirami, Goritz, and Baldassare Turini, who were all destined to become his intimate friends, formed part of the Curia. The two first-named he had known previously at Urbino.

Bembo was one of the most refined writers of the Renaissance, expressing himself with equal ease in Italian and Latin. He was also a connoisseur of exquisite taste, and his interest in art was genuine as well as cultivated. He was equally fond of the antique and of the works of the Renaissance, while his admiration for the sculpture of Greece and of Rome did not prevent him from being an enthusiastic believer in the genius of Raphael. His letters prove how intimate he was with him. He it was who after Raphael's premature death, expressed the grief of all Italy in the epitaph in which the famous phrase "ILLE HIC EST RAPHAEL" occurs.

Bernardino Dovizio, or Bibbiena, as he is more generally called, after his native place, was as clever as Bembo, though circumstances did not admit of his satisfying his fondness for the fine arts to the same extent. Born in 1470, Bibbiena was at an early age fortunate enough to attract the attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and to be employed as his secretary. In 1494, the downfall of the house of Medici sent him into exile with the sons of Lorenzo, and he took refuge, like Giuliano de' Medici, at Urbino, when he composed his comedy of the *Calandra* (the Lark), which passes for the oldest piece in prose on the Italian stage. His suppleness and dexterity soon attracted the notice of Julius II., and thus gave him the opportunity of rendering great service to several artists, among others to Michael Angelo, for whom he once obtained a payment on account of 2000 gold ducats.

Bibbiena does not seem to have amassed much treasure, though he was endowed by the King of Spain with several benefices and a bishopric worth 7000 ducats a year. It is very possible, therefore, that Raphael never received more than thanks for painting his bath-room, or for the portrait of Joanna of Aragon which the Cardinal had ordered for the French king. But if he did not give much material assistance to Raphael, he determined to attach him to himself by ties of blood, and a marriage was arranged, but rather against Raphael's inclination, with his niece Maria, whose premature death alone prevented it from taking place. The following letter from Bembo

shows how much influence Raphael had over Bibbiena, for in writing to ask the latter to let him have his Venus in marble, Bembo adds, "If my request seems too bold, Raphael, to whom you are so attached, has promised to offer you my apologies. It is at his suggestion that I make the proposal, and I hope you will not pay him the bad compliment of refusing."

Lodovico of Canossa, another of the Urbino group, had been resident at Rome since the reign of Guidobaldo; and Julius II. appointed him, in 1511, Bishop of Tricarico, in which capacity he was present at the Lateran Council. Although the tastes of Lodovico were rather for rare books and manuscripts, he did not neglect the fine arts, and we have to thank him for one of Raphael's masterpieces, the *Holy Family* known as the "Pearl," which, after having been for a long time in the Canossa Palace at Verona, is now in the Gallery at Madrid.

Tommaso Inghirami owed his fortune, like Bibbiena, to Lorenzo the Magnificent. Born at Volterra in 1470, he was taken into the palace of Lorenzo when only two years old, after the sack of his native town. Having received an excellent education, Lorenzo sent him to Rome, where he was kindly received by Alexander VI., and in course of time his tact and erudition raised him to a considerable eminence.

Sigismondo de' Conti, of Foligno, private secretary of Julius II., is also entitled to rank among the representatives of science at Rome, though he was not a scholar in the strict sense of the term. His merits had been celebrated at the close of the previous century by Raphael's father in the dedication of his poem, and by a singular coincidence it was for him that Raphael painted one of his greatest pictures, the *Madonna di Foligno*, originally intended for the church of the Ara-Cœli.

The President of the Chancellery, Baldassare Turini, of Pescia, in Tuscany, born in 1481 and died in 1543, does not seem to have sought literary fame, like most of his colleagues, but he was a great friend of art, and especially of Raphael.

Turini had become friendly with Raphael in 1508, as is proved by the letter which the latter wrote to Francia, and we continually find him rendering service to the painter or urging him to hurry on with some of his work. So much confidence did Raphael put in him that he appointed him his executor, and Turini justified this choice by his anxiety to honour the memory of the departed artist. It was he who purchased from Raphael's heirs the *Madonna del Baldacchino*, and placed it in the church of his native town (Pescia).

In the reign of Pope Julius II. Goritz of Luxemburg, a foreigner who had become a Roman in feeling and habit, was the principal champion of good humour and joviality, and once a year, on the festival of St. Anne, his patron-saint, he gave a grand banquet to all the men of letters of Rome. The *Coryciana*, a pamphlet published in 1524, has preserved the memory of these high festivals, and has done as much to make him famous as the beautiful marble group with which Andrea Sansovino decorated his chapel at St. Augustine's, or the fresco of the *Prophet Isaiah*, which Raphael painted for him on one of the pillars of the same church.

At the head of the lay scholars came Count Baldassare Castiglione. He was a native of the marches of Mantua, and was five years the senior of Raphael. His family, connected with the Gonzagas, gave him a brilliant education, and sent him while still very young to the court of Lodovico il Moro, where he perfected himself in the knowledge of classic antiquity.

Castiglione was not only one of the greatest poets of his age, but he was a good judge in matters of art. His influence upon Raphael, whose genius he was one of the first to discover, was very great; and there can be no doubt that he often pointed out to him subjects which it would be worth his while to treat. His advice was no less valuable during the actual execution of the pictures, and there is every reason to believe that he, more than any one else, encouraged Raphael in the study of the antique. He also assisted him in preparing his report to the Pope on the restoration of ancient Rome, proclaiming in enthusiastic terms the greatness of pagan civilization. Castiglione was, like Bembo, a connoisseur, and he was always on the look-out for any rarity. He also felt great admiration for modern art. On intimate terms with Raphael and his two favourite pupils, Giulio Romano and Gian-Francesco Penni, frequenting in turn the salons and studios, he was able to render many services to his friends, suggesting some mythological or allegorical composition, or introducing them to powerful protectors, or obtaining from Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., the payment of some old debt. Raphael twice painted his portrait, and gave him the sketch for two medallions which he wished to have made. After Raphael's death Castiglione did all he could to save from oblivion the portrait of Federigo of Mantua, the statuette of a child, and the picture belonging to the goldsmith Antonio da San Marino.

Ariosto, the most illustrious of the Italian poets, also visited Rome during the reign of Julius II., and made the acquaintance of Raphael. His sovereign, Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, twice sent him as ambassador

to the Pope (the first time in December 1509), but he was ill-received. Upon one occasion the pontiff got into such a passion with the duke and his envoy that he threatened to throw the latter into the water. While engaged in these diplomatic negotiations Ariosto sought the society of his literary brethren and of artists. A letter, now unfortunately lost, tells us that Raphael, while painting the *Dispute of the Sacrament*, asked Ariosto's advice as to the personages who should be brought into the composition.[1] The beautiful epitaph in Latin, in which the poet deplores Raphael's early death, is also a proof of their friendship. Ariosto returned to Rome soon after the accession of Leo X., and was very graciously received by the new Pope, who raised him from his knees and kissed him on both cheeks. That, however, was all that came of their interview, and the poet left Rome with the expressed intention of never returning, giving vent to his discontent in a prologue as caustic as it was witty.

To these eminent men who honoured Raphael with their friendship, must be added the vilest of all the writers of the time, one whose name has became a synonym for extortion and moral and intellectual depravity—Pietro Aretino. Born at Arezzo in 1492, Pietro came to Rome while still a youth in search of fortune. He first entered the service of Agostino Chigi, where he became acquainted with Raphael, and he has even asserted that it was on his recommendation that the great banker employed the latter to decorate his villa. Dismissed for theft by Chigi, he found a refuge at the Vatican, and remained there until Julius II. had him expelled; but he was more fortunate with Leo X., who showed him much undeserved kindness. It was at this period, no doubt, that he became more intimate with Raphael, and his share in the famous prints designed by Giulio Romano, and engraved by Marc Antonio, the superb portrait of him by the latter, and his correspondence with Giovanni da Udine, show that Aretino succeeded in gaining the good graces of Raphael's friends. When we come to speak of the relations between Raphael and Michael Angelo, we shall find Aretino's evidence as to their rivalry of the greatest value.

Francesco Maria's mother, the duchess Joanna della Rovere, the "Prefettessa" as she was called, appears to have taken up her residence permanently at Rome towards the end of her life, and she died there in 1514. She had already done her best to assist Raphael in 1504, and she certainly did what she could for him with her brother-in-law, Julius II.

The researches of Campori in the archives of Mantua have proved

[1] Passavant, *Raphael*, vol. i. p. 503.

that Raphael also knew the Marchesa Isabella di Mantua and worked for her, as his father had done fifteen years before. Her eldest son, Federigo, being detained as a hostage at Rome from 1510 to 1513, she paid him several visits, and it was doubtless at her request that Raphael commenced the portrait of this youth, whose beauty and promising character made him very popular, and led Raphael to include him in his *School of Athens*. This portrait was never finished, nor yet was a portrait which she commissioned him to paint of herself.

It is very possible that the acquaintance of Raphael with Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, the husband of Lucrezia Borgia, also dates from the reign of Julius II., for this prince was at Rome in 1512, and again in 1513, though we have no authentic evidence of their being in contact with one another before 1517.

The Roman aristocracy does not seem to have followed the example of the great foreign nobles, for, faithful to the traditions of the Middle Ages, not a single representative of illustrious families, such as the Savelli, Orsini, Gaetani and the Capraniche, gave Raphael any employment; Cardinal Colonna alone gave him an order for a *St. John the Baptist*, a replica of which is now in the Louvre.

Agostino Chigi, who had acquired by his wealth and splendour the same surname as Lorenzo de' Medici, was born at Siena about 1465. He came to Rome while young, and when scarcely twenty entered into partnership with his fellow-townsman Stefano Ghinucci. From this time forth he resided in Rome; but never forgot his native city, and always put the words "of Siena" after his family name. Farmer of the alum mines belonging to the Holy See, corn-merchant, banker, and money-lender,[1] he rapidly realized a fortune which made him the wealthiest man in Italy. Questioned one day by Leo X. as to the amount of his fortune, he replied that he could form no idea, owing to the multiplicity of transactions in which he was engaged, and that all he could say was that he had a hundred trading establishments in Europe and the East, that his fleet numbered a hundred vessels, and that he gave employment to 20,000 persons. The income of this great financier, who lent money to Charles VIII., to Cæsar Borgia, to the Republic of Venice, and even to the economical Julius, was estimated at more than 70,000 florins.

The wealth which Chigi accumulated in commerce he spent like a king. No such pomp had been seen since the days of Cardinal Pietro Riario, the too famous nephew of Sixtus IV. Agostino Chigi

[1] Chigi had in pledge the cameos and tapestries of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the tiara of Pope Paul II.

endeavoured to outshine his contemporaries in every kind of outward display. His splendid villa near San Giovanni Fiorentino failing to satisfy him, he had a palace built near the Porta Settimiana. To excite Chigi's emulation, Julius II. when he went to inspect its progress remarked, that he doubted whether the building would be equal to that which the Riarios were then erecting. This made Chigi so jealous that he vowed that his stables should be more sumptuous than the Palace of the Riarios; and he kept his word. His gardens rapidly became famous, and splendid works of art were brought together, while illustrious painters covered with frescoes the walls even of the galleries which were open to the air. Raphael, Sebastian of Venice, Peruzzi, Sodoma, Giulio Romano, Francesca Penni, Giovanni da Udine, Giovanni Barile, and Lorenzetto, among others, were employed. Raphael was employed by Chigi in 1510, but it was not until the pontificate of Leo X. that he painted for him the *Galatea*, the *Sibyls*, the *Planets*, the *History of Psyche*, and other works.

Another banker, who was quite young when Raphael came to Rome, Bindo Altoviti, born on the 26th of September 1491, was also famous for his wealth and liberality. A Roman by birth, but of a Florentine family and related on his mother's side to Pope Innocent III., Bindo from the first devoted his fortune to the encouragement of art. Raphael, Michael Angelo, Jacopo Sansovino, Benedetto da Rovezzano, Vasari, and Benvenuto Cellini, were of his friends and familiars. Like most of his contemporaries he was equally fond of ancient and modern art, and Cellini tells us in his *Memoirs* that Bindo's cabinet was "Molto riccamente ornato di anticaglie e altre belle cose." Raphael became very intimate with this young man, whose portrait he has left us, and painted for him the *Madonna dell' Impannata*, now in the Pitti Palace.

The most influential of the artists, whom Julius II. placed at the head of his vast undertakings, was a compatriot, and perhaps a relative, of Raphael, Bramante of Urbino. After having enriched Lombardy with so many works of art, Bramante came to Rome, where he made himself famous by his Chancellery, and was then selected by Alexander VI. to assist as sub-director of the works for the erection of fountains on the Piazzas of the Trastavere and St. Peter. Julius II. employed him both as architect and as military engineer, first giving him the tremendous task of the rebuilding of St. Peter's. Most artists would have been well-nigh overwhelmed, but Bramante found time to conduct all the other enterprises of Julius II. After having finished the Belvedere Court of the Vatican, he began that of the Loggie, and

then built a Palace in the Via Giulia. In course of time he was invested with the supervision of all the building works of the Vatican.

Bramante had long lived in poverty without losing heart, and this was why his pupil Cæsariano called him the "patiente figlio di paupertate." If Cæsariano is to be believed, Julius II. was obliged to have recourse to threats in order to induce him to accept benefices, and the lucrative appointment of "piombatore," or "frate del piombo" —that is, a member of the corporation whose duty it was to seal the papal bulls. When he had become rich, Bramante gave free expression to his liberality, and his house became the rendezvous of the most eminent artists, whom he gathered round his table.

Bramante was not only a very kind friend to Raphael, but served also as a guide and even as a teacher to him. Not only did he initiate him into the principles of architecture, but when he was executing the *School of Athens* he sketched for him the beautiful portico which encircles the whole. He also, according to Lomazzo, gave him some ingenious models of the human figure, and of the horse, and on his death-bed designated him to the Pope as his fit successor as architect to St. Peter's.

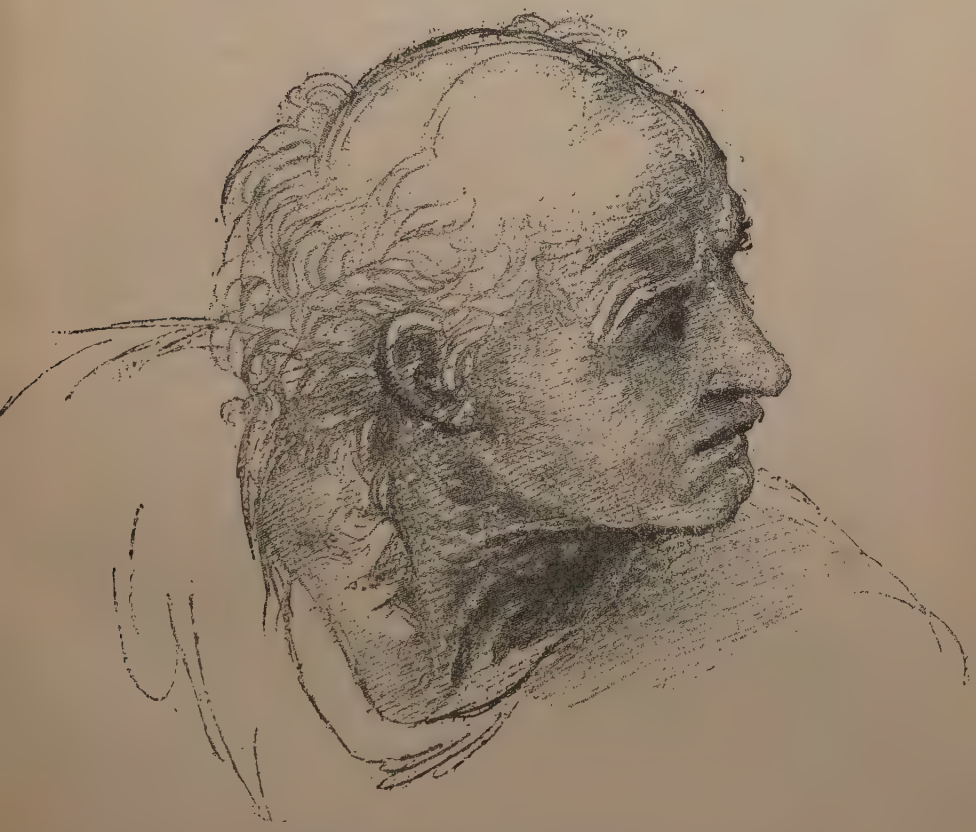
Bramante was surrounded by a whole host of architects, surveyors, and sculptors. Some were men of great merit, and one of them, Giuliano Leno, who was charged with administrative functions, was a fine judge of art. He was something more than an ordinary assistant to Bramante, and clerk of the works at St. Peter's under Raphael. There was another architect who, while holding the post of measurer (mensurator) of the works, was famous throughout Europe as a sculptor and architect: this was Andrea Sansovino, whose favourite pupil, Jacopo Sansovino, also excelled in both arts.

Vasari dwells in some detail on the services which Antonio da San-Gallo the younger rendered to Bramante, furnishing the drawings which the aged architect's trembling hand could only sketch in the rough, and superintending the execution of his orders. He took upon himself some years afterwards to criticize very severely the course which Raphael adopted in the building of the basilica; but this does not seem to have affected their friendship, and when Raphael found the work too heavy for him to carry out unaided, the Pope gave him Antonio as a colleague.

Giuliano da San-Gallo, the most important of the artists who belonged to the Michael Angelo party, and founder of the illustrious dynasty of San-Gallo, was employed by Pope Paul II. as surveyor of the works at the palace of St. Mark and the tribune of St. Peter.

Though Sixtus IV. did not show him much favour, his nephew Julius II. protected him while still cardinal; he accompanied his patron to France, and designed a palace for Charles VIII.

Bramante had supplanted Giuliano as architect of St. Peter's, and Giuliano felt this so much that, after having been for so many years in the Pope's service, he did little more work for him. The accession of



STUDY FOR THE PORTRAIT OF BRAMANTE.

(In the Louvre.)

Leo X. brought him into favour again, for his family had long been allied with that of the Medici. He was appointed to assist Raphael as architect of St. Peter's, but was too old to profit by this and died soon afterwards.

Among the foreign artists who had preceded Raphael in Rome, Baldassare Peruzzi, an architect and painter like himself, occupied

one of the foremost places. Born in 1481, he was very young when he left Siena, after having been under Sodoma and Pinturicchio, for Rome, where he arrived about 1503. The frescoes in the church of St. Onofrio, and the mosaics in the underground chapel of Santa Croce in Gerusalemma, soon brought him into repute. He was commissioned by Julius II. to paint in an aviary of the palace the months of the year and their corresponding duties, and afterwards to decorate the Chamber of Heliodorus. He was almost immediately superseded by Raphael, who did not however touch his decorations in the central part of the ceiling, and his compatriot, Agostino Chigi, at once took him into his service. The construction and decoration of the villa since called the Villa Farnesina, again brought Baldassare in contact with Raphael, who painted his *Galatea* in a room of which Peruzzi painted the ceiling. At Santa-Maria della Pace, too, Peruzzi did the paintings in the Ponzetti Chapel, not far from where Raphael had painted the *Sibyls*. Fortunately for Raphael, Peruzzi was of a gentle, retiring disposition, so that they never had a disagreement.

At the commencement of Julius II.'s reign there were few good painters, for Antonazzo, the chief of the native school, was old, and died soon afterwards, while Pietro d'Amalio, Pietro Turini of Siena, and Michael of Imola were only intrusted with work of secondary importance, but the decoration of the pontifical palace in 1507 and 1508 attracted to Rome Sodoma, Perugino, Pinturicchio, Signorelli, Bramantino Suardi, Lorenzo Lotto, Lo Spagna, Jan Ruysch the Fleming, Andrea Veneto, &c. So brilliant a gathering of artists had not been seen there since the reign of Sixtus IV. All, however, eventually made way for Raphael, "the prince of painters." Perugino may have been gratified to find his pupil in this illustrious company, but he must have been deeply mortified when he had to retire in his favour, and when the Pope instructed the young genius to paint out his master's compositions.

CHAPTER XI

RAPHAEL was in Rome on September 5, 1508, for a letter of that date addressed to Francia shows that he was in communication with several prelates, Cardinal Riario among others, and at the head of a studio with numerous pupils or apprentices. This letter ran as follows :—

"DEAR MESSIRE FRANCESCO,

"I have this instant received your portrait, which has been handed over to me by Bazotto in perfect safety and quite uninjured. Very many thanks: it is so well done and so lifelike that I seem to see you and to hear you speaking. I hope you will be indulgent with me, and forgive me for being so long in sending you mine, but my incessant and important engagements have prevented me as yet from painting it myself as we agreed. You would not have been pleased, perhaps, if I had sent you one painted by one of my pupils and touched up by me: or, should I not rather say, this would have been the proper course, for I should thus have confessed my inability to equal your work. I pray of you to be indulgent towards me, for you, too, know what it is to be deprived of one's liberty and to be dependent on others.

"In the meanwhile, I send you by this same messenger, who will be going back in six days, another drawing, viz. an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, which, as you will see, differs very much from the picture I painted, and of which you were kind enough to speak in such favourable terms. You always praise my work, and I blush at the thought of it, just as I do at sending you this trifle. You will simply accept it as a proof of my devotion and affection; and if you will send me in return your *History of Judith*, I will give it a place among the most precious objects in my possession.

"The Datarius is awaiting his small Madonna with as much impatience as Cardinal Riario is expecting his large one, and this you will learn from Bazotto. I, too, shall contemplate the pictures with the sympathy and satisfaction which I derive from all your works, for I know none more beautiful, more saintly, or better executed. In the meanwhile be of good cheer, do not fail in your customary prudence, and rest assured that I feel your sorrows as if they were my own. Love me as I love you—with all my heart.

"Always and altogether at your service,

"Your RAPHAEL SANZIO." [1]

"*Rome, September* 5, 1508."

Everything combines to suggest that it was from this moment that Raphael worked for Julius II. According to Vasari he was summoned to Rome by Bramante's desire, and this deserves credence, for Bramante was a compatriot, if not a relative of Raphael. The

[1] The original of this letter has been lost. The text of it was published for the first time by Malvasia in his *Felsina pittrice*. (Its authenticity is now seriously doubted.—W. A.)

recommendations of the Court of Urbino and of Duke Francesco-Maria della Rovere, the Pope's nephew, may too have helped him, for charming as his works were, he would scarcely have triumphed over so many rivals, without the support of the chief architect of St. Peter's, and of the Pope's nearest relatives, having as yet done nothing in the shape of monumental painting.

Julius II., struck with admiration for Raphael's first works, showed no mercy for the labours of his predecessors, and ordered him to obliterate them. Raphael, to his credit be it spoken, courageously fought for them and succeeded in saving some of the compositions of Perugino, Peruzzi, and Sodoma. The ceilings of the room containing the *Incendio del Borgo*, of the Heliodorus room, and of the Segnatura room, still contain a certain number of figures and decorations by these artists. The frescoes which were destroyed he took copies of, and this was how he came to reproduce the portraits with which Piero della Francesca had decorated the walls of one room.

It would be interesting to know how Raphael was paid, and whether Julius II. gave him more than he had given his rivals. According to all probability, he received for painting the Camera della Segnatura the same sum as for the decoration of the *Incendio del Borgo* room, *i. e.* 1200 ducats. Julius II. was generous but not lavish, and was often short of money. A comparison of the price paid to Michael Angelo for painting the ceiling of the Sistine, and that which he was promised by the Republic of Florence for the *Battle of Anghiara*, shows that the Pope did not throw his money away. In each case he received 3000 gold ducats, but, as Michael Angelo himself said, when he had completed the Florentine cartoon, he considered that his work was half finished, whereas the decoration of the Sistine Chapel cost him four years' constant labour, from 1508 to 1512.

However, the actual payment in money conveys a very incomplete idea of the position of the artists who worked for the Pope, as many of them were inducted into livings which much increased, or in some cases even stood in the stead of, pecuniary remuneration. In the time of Nicholas V., his favourite architect, L. B. Alberti, received a large revenue from prebends, and many others occupied very lucrative posts, such as mace-bearer, or sergeant-at-arms to the Pope, or, like Bramante, held the still more coveted appointment of "piombatore." Leo X. made Giulio Romano Prefect of the Tiber, an appointment which he made over to some one else on payment of an annual sum of ninety ducats; Michael Angelo was granted the tolls of the Po, while Leonardo da Vinci obtained the privilege of drawing water from the canal of St. Christopher at Milan. The artists attached to the

pontifical court occasionally received presents in kind—a mantle, a doublet, or some cloth for a tunic.

Raphael doubtless received favours of this kind, but it is very certain that but for his prodigious activity, which enabled him to carry on the decoration of the Vatican, to superintend the building of St. Peter's, and to work for private individuals at the same time, he would have been a long time in making anything like a fortune.

Before considering the magnificent series of the Stanze, it is necessary to explain the disposition of the chambers which Raphael was commissioned to decorate. The four known as the "Stanze" vary both in dimensions and shape. While the immense chamber of Constantine is only lighted on one side, the chamber of the "Segnatura" and the chamber of Heliodorus have windows on two sides. In the fourth, the chamber of the *Incendio del Borgo*, or of Charlemagne, the windows do not correspond; for while one of them is in the centre of the wall which faces the Belvedere, the other is at one end of the opposite wall. It seems as if the architect had purposely accumulated every possible difficulty for a painter, both as regards bad light and irregularity of line, in every chamber except that of Constantine.

Raphael began his work in the room which, being the one where the Pope generally signed the documents submitted to him by his ministers, was called the *Stanza della Segnatura.*

He apportioned his composition as follows. Upon the two large walls were the *Dispute of the Sacrament* and the *School of Athens*, in the space above the window looking on to the Belvedere courtyard, the *Parnassus*, and beneath, *Alexander depositing Homer's MS. on the Tomb of Achilles*, and *Augustus preventing the friends of Virgil from Burning the Æneid*, while in the recess on the other side were the three Virtues representative of *Justice: Force, Moderation*, and *Prudence.* The ceiling was covered with allegorical figures inclosed in medallions. In each of the four corner compartments, Raphael represented a scene in harmony with the corresponding painting: next to the *Parnassus, Apollo and Marsyas;* next to the *Dispute of the Sacrament, Original Sin;* next to *Jurisprudence*, the *Judgment of Solomon;* and next to the *School of Athens, Astronomy.*

Nothing could have been more ably conceived than this plan; it was worked out to its smallest details before it was begun to be put into execution, and no necessity arose for the slightest alteration. Passavant attributes this conception entirely to Raphael; we believe, on the contrary, that the men of letters who were Raphael's intimates had a very great influence upon the composition of this plan, which is the ablest and the most profound any artist ever produced. The

artists of the Renaissance were in the habit of receiving from their patrons an exact indication of the subjects which they were to paint. Michael Angelo was one of the rare exceptions to this rule, and Varchi, in his funeral oration, dwelt emphatically upon the fact that he painted entirely from his own invention the vast series of frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. To Raphael, doubtless, was given much latitude; but there is every reason to believe that the main lines of the composition were laid down by some scholar attached to the papal court, and that Raphael consulted him while engaged in his work.

The idea of the paintings in the Camera della Segnatura seems to have been borrowed from Petrarch, who in his *Trionfo dell' Amore* arrays around the chariot of Cupid the poets who sing of love—Orpheus and Dante, Pindar, Sappho, Tibullus, Propertius, &c.; while in his *Trionfo della Fama* he celebrates, in addition to the warriors, the philosophers and poets, such as Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Socrates, Homer, Virgil, Zeno, and Diogenes, Heraclitus, Democritus, and Zoroaster. Petrarch's poem, however, only supplied Raphael with a part of the elements which he brought into play. The study of Dante and of Marsilio Ficino, the famous commentator on Plato, gave him several other motives, and Inghirami, Bembo, Castiglione, &c., supplied him with many ideas.

Not being in any way tied by tradition, Raphael was able to give free scope to his imagination, and create the works which have made him immortal. His first care was to put history on one side and fiction on the other. The figures personifying *Religion*, *Science*, *Jurisprudence*, and *Poetry* occupy the medallions on the ceiling, while *Force*, *Prudence*, and *Temperance* are on the wall facing the *Parnassus*. First we will take the *Dispute of the Sacrament*, or *Theology*, which was the first in point of date.

There can be no doubt that Raphael intended from the first to represent the triumph of the Church, and the glory and the happiness of the elect. His only doubt was as to the number and selection of the personages to be introduced, and how to group them. The fact of his having made at least thirty preliminary studies shows how much uncertainty he felt, even if we had not his letter to Ariosto asking for advice.

Two drawings, one at Windsor, the other at Oxford, represent the left side of the fresco, as Raphael first conceived it. They are executed in sepia heightened in white. The patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and saints are in two rows, whereas in the fresco they form but one, and the Christ, instead of being between the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, is isolated. The composition is in a very

rudimentary condition; indeed, in the Windsor sketch one can scarcely distinguish the groups or attitudes. A drawing in the Stædel Museum at Frankfort shows that the central group has assumed more consistency, and the attitude of the two personages who are seated, each of whom has a book in his hands, is almost

FIRST STUDY FOR THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT.
(Windsor Castle Collection.)

the same as that of St. Gregory and St. Jerome in the fresco itself. Raphael has also kept in the fresco the figures of the worshippers kneeling before the throne, whose shape is still vague. The other figures are not like those in the *Dispute* as it was finally painted, and are all undraped. An excellent drawing in the Louvre shows us

another and more advanced study for the composition; here St. Gregory is seated on the throne, and three persons are kneeling by his side. A still further advance is marked in the beautiful drawing belonging to the Duc d'Aumale, which contains thirty figures. The centre or nucleus of the composition is not given, nor is there any trace of Raphael's consummate grouping. In a drawing in the Albertina (Braun, No. 173), which, like most of those still extant, relates to the left part of the composition, the artist has reached the aim he had in view, and is all but ready to begin the cartoon.

The *Dispute of the Sacrament* occupies one of the large side walls, and is composed upon the lines of a re-entering semicircle. Raphael has divided his figures into four grand zones. At the top, God the Father raises one hand in the act of benediction, while with the other He holds up the globe; there is a diamond-shaped halo about His head, and choruses of angels and cherubim form His escort and sing His praises.

Lower down, and relieved upon a disc resplendent with gold, is seated Christ. As in the fresco of San-Severo, the upper part of His body is nude, while a large mantle covers His knees, and, as at San-Severo, He shows His bleeding hands in sign of the mystery of the Redemption. To His left St. John the Baptist points to Him whose coming he had announced, and to His right the Virgin, bending in profound veneration, covers her head with her mantle, as in the severe pictures of the Byzantine school.

Underneath these figures are seated twelve patriarchs, prophets, apostles, confessors, representatives of the old and new faiths.

Amidst the clouds are to be seen myriads of angels. Some of them are scarcely distinguishable from the light vapours which float around them, while others, standing out more distinctly, animate and light up the background. Raphael had in his mind the beautiful lines in which Dante tells of the spirits with faces of fire, bodies whiter than the snow, and wings of gold, which are ever ascending and descending like swarms of bees, shedding from their wings the peace and devotion which they have brought from the bosom of God. Four other angels carrying the Gospels serve together with the dove to connect the upper part of the composition with that which is below. The animation which distinguishes this part is in striking contrast with the calm of that above. Old men and youths, official personages and adherents of the faith, are discussing with animation or listening with reverence, teaching with authority or seeking enlightenment, some of them in science, others in the text of the Scriptures. An altar, upon which the Host stands out radiant from the background, forms

the centre, and around it are seated the four great doctors of the Church—St. Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine. Among the persons who figure in this "Santa conversazione," are Fra Angelico, Duns Scotus, St. Thomas Aquinas, Pope Anacletus, St. Bonaventura in a cardinal's dress, Pope Innocent III., and beside him Dante and Savonarola.

The history of the *School of Athens* is somewhat obscure, for we have only a few sketches for it and a few studies of heads, hands and draperies. We find Raphael still faithful to his principle of making his sketches from a living model, and if possible from the nude. In his portrait of Bramante, now in the Louvre, which formed the prototype of the Archimedes in the fresco, he reproduced the bony hands and knotty fingers which were so soon afterwards paralyzed. A drawing in the Albertina collection shows us a model leaning upon a staff in a somewhat forced attitude, and this was developed into the beautiful figure of Anaxagoras. Though Raphael was on the point of executing his fresco, there is no trace in the cartoon of the architectural background, nor of Heraclitus in the foreground, nor of the portraits of Raphael himself and Perugino. These were added after the cartoon was finished.

The scene is represented as taking place beneath a vast portico the arcades of which are panelled, and pierced with niches in which stand the statues of Apollo and of the well-armed Pallas Athene.

There can be no doubt but that Raphael endeavoured in the *School of Athens* to represent the development of Greek philosophy from Pythagoras and Democritus, that is to say from the sixth century before our era, to Archimedes, who died in the year 212 B.C. He has introduced his own portrait into this fresco. It is to the extreme right, and is strikingly like that in the Uffizi, with the same olive complexion and long neck, but the youth has grown into a man.

The third fresco in the same room, the *Parnassus*, is marked by different qualities; in it Raphael shook off all anxiety as to symmetry of decorative effect. Seated under the shade of a laurel-grove is Apollo surrounded by the Muses and the poets of antiquity. Behind are Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch.

On the wall which faces that on which the *Parnassus* is painted, Raphael represented the three handmaids of Justice: Prudence, Force, and Moderation; and these figures are connected by winged genii. To the two lower compartments on each side of the window were accorded two purely historical subjects, relating to the codification of the Civil and the Canon Law; *The Emperor Justinian promulgating the Pandects* and *Pope Gregory IX. promulgating the*

STUDY FOR THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT.

Decretals. In this last-named composition Raphael derived most of his ideas from the famous fresco of Melozzo da Forli, *Sixtus IV. appointing Platina to the post of Librarian,* formerly in the Vatican Library. Raphael's contains an innovation; in his former pictures

STUDY FOR THE CALLIOPE IN THE PARNASSUS.

he had rarely painted a portrait from life, but he here represented Gregory IX. under the features of Julius II., in company with Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, the future Leo X.; Alessandro Farnese, the future Paul III., and another prelate of that day, Antonio del

Monte. In this he was following the example of the Florentine painters of the fifteenth century, and notably of Masaccio.

Raphael's only previous experience in fresco-painting was in the chapel of San-Severo at Perugia several years before. In the Vatican paintings we can follow his progress step by step. In the *Dispute of the Sacrament* there are signs of inexperience, but in the *School of Athens* there is already that certainty of hand which has made him the first fresco-painter of all time. M. Raymond Balze, an artist well acquainted with his work, makes some observations on this point which are worth careful consideration.

STUDY FOR THE DANTE IN THE PARNASSUS.
(Albertina Collection.)

"Raphael," he tells us, "began by drawing from the life—in red chalk, by preference—the figures which he intended to introduce into his compositions. These he transferred by squaring either to canvas or cardboard. The cardboard being then laid over a sheet of paper, was pricked with a needle along the lines of the composition. The outline thus obtained was in its turn pounced with charcoal on to the wall or the panel, as the case might be. As soon as the drawing was clear, light touches of the brush fixed it, made it more precise, or corrected it. These final and more important touches were generally applied by Raphael himself, and he sometimes availed himself of the opportunity to modify his original composition.

"In regard to the painting of the frescoes themselves, the mason spread the mortar early in the morning, according to instructions given by Raphael the previous evening. He of course began at the top, so that the mortar might drip without the drops of water falling on to the parts already dry. The next thing was to transfer the

pounced drawings on to the fresh mortar, which was done by means of an iron pin. This done, Raphael began to paint, commencing with the high lights. The colours were placed in small pots, like those which may be seen in one of the Loggia frescoes and in the picture at the academy of St. Luke. Raphael made his arrangements so as to paint at one sitting all those parts of a figure or group which were to be of the same 'value;' if he had interrupted the work it would have been very difficult to avoid a break in the tones.

"It is impossible to say how much time Raphael devoted to the execution of his drawings and cartoons, but so far as regards the mural pictures themselves, the bevelled edges of each day's work—

PRUDENCE, FORCE, AND MODERATION.

an arrangement which was necessary in order that the mortar of one day should adhere to that of the next—enable one to follow the progress of the work step by step. I have calculated that, in the *Incendio del Borgo*, the large group to the left, composed of four figures all more than life-size, was painted in a week. In the *School of Athens* each figure took less than a day. The architectural parts were executed with prodigious rapidity, and as Raphael generally had a very large surface prepared by the mason, the mortar was often still too wet when he began to paint, the consequence being that there are deep cracks in various parts of the portico. The after-touches, it is true, must have necessitated an addition of work, and this is specially noticeable in the *Parnassus*, where the sky is fresco, while the laurels which overshadow the Muses are in tempera, the

consequence of which is that the colour comes off on the finger at the slightest touch. But about 1516 Raphael had become so proficient in fresco-work that he rarely had occasion to go over the ground a second time.

"In his *Galatea*, the lines of demarcation between the different parts of the fresco are very distinct, and an examination of them proves that the whole composition took from twelve to fifteen days."

This wonderful facility explains how Raphael managed to execute from twelve to fifteen pictures or frescoes in a year, and in 1518 as many as twenty, or, perhaps, twenty-two.

While Raphael's mind was occupied by the frescoes of the *Camera della Segnatura*, feelings of a different kind were stirring his heart. For the first time in his life he knew what it was to love, and endeavoured to express his feelings in verse. Three of the sonnets composed at this epoch are still in existence; they are written upon the backs of drawings for the *Dispute of the Sacrament*. Raphael was probably trying his hand at verse for the first time, for the style is laboured, and the idea often confused. It is evident, too, that he was continually troubled by the rhyme, for we find on a corner of one sheet, near a line ending with "polo," a number of words like "solo, volo, dolo," noted down, while after a line ending with "luce" the words "conduce, riduce, aduce," appear. We append a translation of the famous one in the British Museum.[1]

The key to the allusion contained in this sonnet is lost to us, but the meaning of the next presents less difficulty. "Love, thou hast bound me with the light of two eyes, which torment me; with a face like snow and roses, with sweet words and pretty manners. So great is my ardour that no river or sea could extinguish my fire. But I do not complain, for my ardour makes me happy, and the more I burn, the more I wish to do so. How sweet was the chain, how light the yoke of her white arms around my neck! When these bonds were loosed, I felt a mortal grief. I will say no more; a great joy kills, and though my thoughts turn to thee, I keep silence."

In the third sonnet Raphael swears to himself not to betray the secret of his happiness: "Just as Paul, descended from the skies, was

[1] "Very tender is the recollection of my attack, but how grievous it was to separate! I was like mariners who have lost their star, if, indeed, I was not in a worse plight. Oh, my tongue, take speech, that I may tell the black treason of which love has made me the victim. Nevertheless, I thank him, and praise him. It was evening; one sun had set but another arose in its place; it was an hour which favoured acts rather than words. But I was oppressed by the fire which consumed me; the more my manhood desired to make itself heard, the more silent I became."—(See also L. Fagan, *Raffaello Sanzio and his Sonnet*, 1884.—W. A.)

unable to reveal the secrets of God, so my heart has covered my thoughts with an amorous veil. So I say nothing of all I have seen, of all I have done, because of the joy which I hide in my heart. My hair shall change its colour rather than my duty shall be forgotten in thoughts which might be blamed," &c.

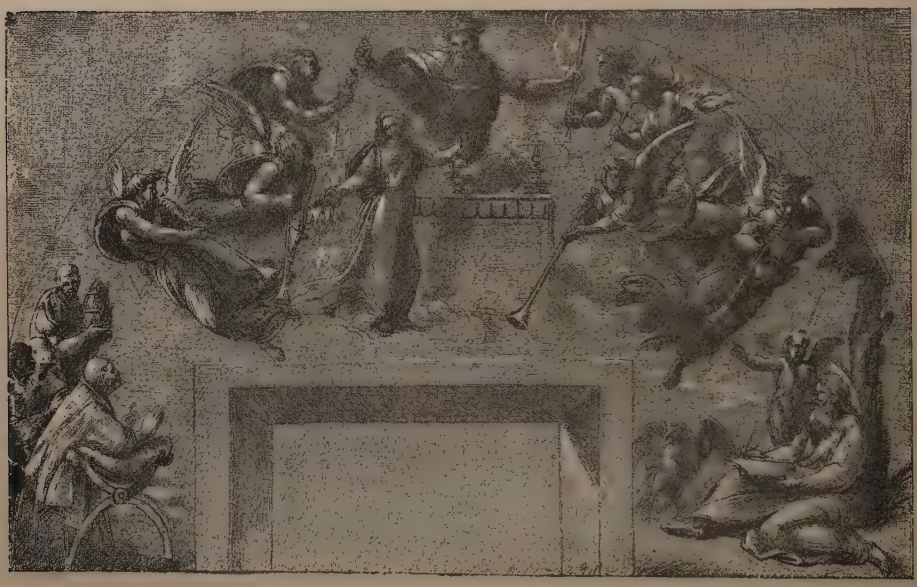
We do not know to whom these passionate words were addressed; Passavant conjectures that Raphael had already become acquainted with the Fornarina, and that the woman in these sonnets and in the Barberini portrait are one, but he adduces no real argument to support his view.

CHAPTER XII

THE *Camera della Segnatura*, having been completed in 1511, after three years' labour, Julius II., still full of enthusiasm, commissioned Raphael to decorate the room adjoining, now known as the *Stanza d'Eliodoro*. In the *Camera della Segnatura* is symbolized the power of intellect. Science, Art, and Poetry are glorified together with Theology and Jurisprudence; in the *Stanza d'Eliodoro* Art has abdicated her independence, and seeks only to remind us that we are in the palace of a sovereign pontiff named Julius II. It was Julius II. who determined that modern politics should be introduced into these representations from sacred history, and the *Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple* symbolized in his eyes the expulsion of the French from Italy. At this time the strife between Louis XII. and the Pope had reached such a pitch of exasperation that, not content with shedding streams of blood, the two sovereigns called Art to the assistance of their mutual hate, and in 1512 Louis XII. had a medal struck with this inscription, "Perdam Babylonis nomen." Julius retorted with another medal on the reverse of which he appeared on horseback, whip in hand, chasing the barbarians from Italy, and treading underfoot the arms of France.

A drawing in the Louvre, of which we give a facsimile below, shows us where Raphael and his patron hesitated in their choice of subjects for the *Stanza d'Eliodoro*. It was at first intended to represent, in one of the two great lunettes above the windows, a scene from the Apocalypse, God giving to the seven angels the trumpets which were to produce such frightful calamities. On the right St. John, represented as an old man, is seated writing; in the apex we see God floating over the altar giving the trumpets to his

messengers, whilst near Him is an eighth angel holding a brazen censer, at the touch of which the earth is to open and blaze with lightnings. On the left, the Pope is kneeling at his *Prie-Dieu* in almost the same attitude as in the *Mass of Bolsena.* Julius is here represented with a clean-shaven face, which suggests that the sketch was made at a somewhat early period, as in the *Gregory IX. promulgating the Decretals* the Pope already wears a beard. The *Stanza d'Eliodoro* had been decorated about the time of Nicholas V., by Piero della Francesca. Raphael, being unable to save the works of his predecessor, had them copied by his pupils. Later decora-



STUDY FOR A SCENE FROM THE APOCALYPSE.
(Louvre.)

tions, painted probably by Peruzzi, still exist in company with the works of Sanzio. In this chamber Raphael was assisted for the first time by Giulio Romano, a youth then twenty years of age.

The fresco which gives its name to the hall, the *Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple,* is not less celebrated than the great works in the *Camera della Segnatura.*

In the second fresco in the *Stanza d'Eliodoro,* the *Mass of Bolsena,* the whole scene is admirable, and combines all the beauties of composition with those of eloquent expression, and to these are joined a warmth of colouring not before seen in Raphael's work. The

STUDY FOR PAPAL GROUP IN THE HELIODORUS.

(Louvre.)

influence of the Venetian Sebastiano Luciani did much to turn Raphael's thoughts towards qualities in art which, unhappily, his desire to rival the great works of Michael Angelo soon caused him to forget.

The two last frescoes of the *Stanza d'Eliodoro*, the *March of Attila*, and the *Deliverance of St. Peter*, were finished during the reign of Leo X., but one of them, at least, is connected with the history of Julius II.

There can be no doubt that both the *March of Attila* and the *Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple* are allusions to the victories gained by the Papacy. The true Attila, says Roscoe, is the French king, Louis XII. The choice of the subject was a happy one. It recalls one of the most brilliant successes of the Papacy after it had become the sovereign power in Rome, and that a success due solely to moral force. What could be more happy than the choice of a victory gained by papal eloquence in the presence of two opposed civilizations, that of ancient Rome, which was at its last gasp, and that of the invaders who were approaching their triumph ?

The sack of Rome in 1527 was the barbarians' revenge for the insults heaped on them by Julius II.

A fine drawing in the Louvre shows us the composition as it first occurred to Raphael. In it the Pope and his escort, instead of facing Attila as principal actors, are represented as spectators.

A drawing at Oxford (Robinson, p. 225—227), which appears to be only a copy from a sketch by Raphael now lost, shows through what numerous phases the *Attila* passed before the fresco was complete. The Huns are there represented dressed like Turks of the sixteenth century. Attila is haranguing the Pope, while in the drawing in the Louvre and in the final composition itself, he is represented as terrified at the sight of the apostle hovering in the air. Lastly, the Pope (carried in an armchair instead of on horseback) bears a strong resemblance to Julius II., by whom the picture seems to have been ordered, although it remained unfinished at the time of his death; Raphael afterwards substituted for his portrait that of Leo X.

The *Deliverance of St. Peter from Prison*, like the *Heliodorus* and the *Attila*, contains an allusion to the successes of the reigning Pope, but the allusion is no longer obscure. It was Leo X., not Julius II., who gave this subject to his artist. The Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici having been taken prisoner in a journey from Ravenna, shortly afterwards succeeded in escaping under the most extraordinary circumstances, a year to the very day before his elevation to the

Pontificate. It was this deliverance that Leo X. wished to symbolize under that of *St. Peter*.

As regards the other two frescoes, some connoisseurs are of opinion (and their opinion continually makes converts) that they must be assigned to Giulio Romano. The caryatides in *grisaille*—greatly restored in 1702-3 by Maratta—complete the decoration of the

STUDY FOR THE MADONNA DELLA CASA ALBA.

Chamber of Heliodorus. In these single figures Raphael has forcibly symbolized the power of the papal states.

The painters of the Renaissance did not despise the most humble works of decoration. Raphael readily consented to paint above the fireplace of a room, said to be that of Innocent VIII., the arms of Julius II. supported by two nude children. One of these figures still exists; it was bequeathed by the painter Wicar to the Academy of

St. Luke at Rome. Julius II. also confided to Raphael the decoration of the corridor connecting the Vatican with the Belvedere; of the seventeen bays which form this corridor, Raphael had decorated one, before the death of Julius, for 200 ducats. For four others done in the time of Leo X. he only received 150 ducats each. A consider-

STUDY FOR THE MADONNA DELLA CASA ALBA.

able portion of this building fell down in the reign of Clement VII., and it is probable that the pictures in question perished on that occasion.

The decoration of the "Stanze" would have been sufficient to engross the whole life of a less able and prolific artist than Raphael,

THE ALDOBRANDINI, OR GARVAGH, MADONNA.

(National Gallery, London.)

but the frescoes in the pontifical palace form only a small portion of the work he produced between the years 1508 and 1513. During this period several altar-pieces were completed, such as the Madonnas *di Foligno, di Loretto* and *del Pesce,* and the *Holy Family of Naples;* as well as easel-pictures like the *Madonna della Casa Alba,* the *Aldobrandini* or *Garvagh Madonna,* the Louvre *Virgin with the Diadem;* a fresco ordered by Goritz for the church of St. Augustine; the *Isaiah;* the portraits of *Julius II.* and *Bindo Altoviti;* the beautiful drawings for *Lucretia* and the *Massacre of the Innocents,* etc., etc. Raphael was also busy at this period with works of architecture.

The *Madonna della Casa Alba,* now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, recalls, both in composition and style, the Madonnas of the Florentine period. Seated on the ground, Mary holds a book in one hand, while with the other she draws St. John towards her Son. The former is kneeling, and brandishing his little cross with childlike joy.

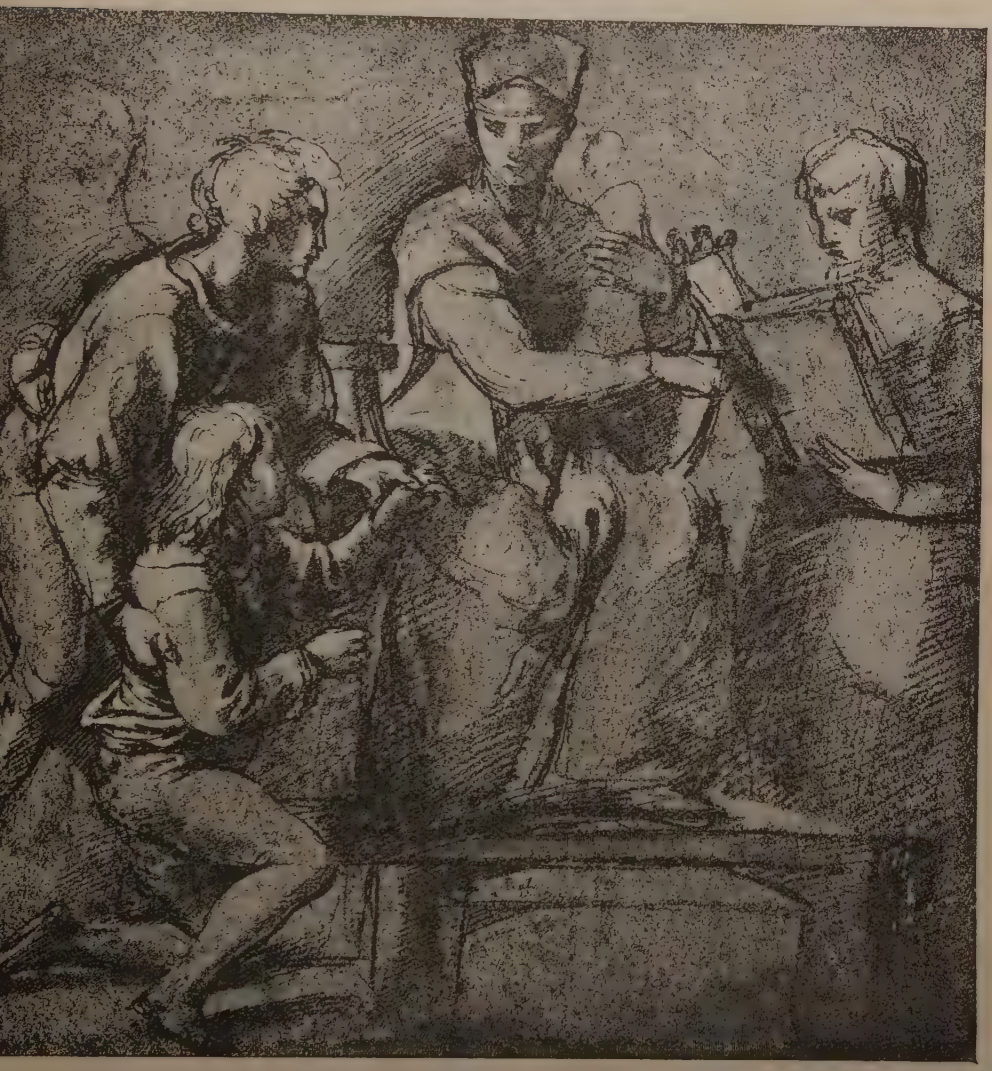
We reproduce two drawings in the Wicar collection, by means of which we may study the method of the artist. His first model for the general grouping was a man, whom we shall find transformed in the second drawing into a perfect Madonna, and in another step the final composition is completed.

The *Madonna of the Aldobrandini Family,* in the National Gallery, displays a severity which strongly contrasts with the grace of the *Madonna della Casa Alba.*

For beauty of conception, freedom of handling, and harmonious colour, the *Madonna di Foligno,* painted about 1511, is greatly superior to the works we have already studied; and among all Raphael's Madonnas that of *San Sisto* alone ranks above it. Seated in the clouds in a golden glory, her Son standing by her side, Mary looks down on the donor, Sigismondo de' Conti, who is kneeling below clothed in the superb scarlet mantle of the Pope's private chamberlains. Innumerable Angels surround the Queen of Heaven. The Child smiles at the devout old man who worships Him. Upon the earth, which is illumined by a rainbow and covered with vegetation, St. John the Baptist and St. Francis are offering homage, while St. Jerome presents the donor to the holy Mother.

The *Madonna di Foligno* was painted by order of Sigismondo de' Conti (died February 23, 1512), and appears to have been commissioned in fulfilment of a vow. The bomb which is bursting in mid-air is an allusion to the dangers incurred by Conti during the siege of Foligno, his native town. From the high altar of the church of the Ara-Cœli, where it was first placed, this picture was taken to Foligno,

thence to Paris by Napoleon, whence, after Waterloo, it returned to Italy and was placed in the Vatican, where it still remains.



STUDY FOR THE VIRGIN WITH THE FISH.
(Uffizi.)

The *Madonna del Pesce* is at once the most grave and the most touching of Raphael's Madonnas.

The signification of the *Madonna del Pesce* has been often discussed.

The most satisfactory explanation has been given perhaps by Passavant. It appears that diseases of the eye are and were very prevalent at Naples, and a chapel was erected where persons so afflicted were wont to go to pray. As Raphael's Madonna was painted for this chapel, it was natural that the artist should introduce into it Tobit with the fish which cured his father's blindness. As to St. Jerome, he probably was introduced as having translated the First Book of Tobit and being chiefly instrumental in its being added to the Bible. The Madonna remained in the church of San Domenico at Naples until 1638, when the Duke of Medina, Viceroy of the King of Spain, had it taken to his palace in spite of the resistance of the monks. In 1656 it became the property of Philip IV. of Spain.

The only fresco painted by Raphael for a private patron in the time of Julius II. was the *Prophet Isaiah* in the church of St. Augustine, ordered by Jean Goritz of Luxemburg. Of this Vasari tells a curious tale: "Bramante, who had the keys of the Sistine Chapel, took Raphael there secretly to study the work of Michael Angelo. After this visit Raphael repainted his picture of *Isaiah*, although it was already completed. It shows how greatly his style was ennobled by the sight of Michael Angelo's productions. When Buonarroti returned and saw the *Isaiah* he guessed what had happened, that Bramante had betrayed his trust in order to add to Raphael's glory."

The number of portraits painted by Raphael in Rome was small, and we are told that he reserved his powers as a portrait painter for the popes and his own intimate friends. It would be difficult to name one single portrait of a stranger beyond those of the *Violinista* and of *The Young Man* in the Louvre. Julius II., the Duke Guidobaldo, Federigo Gonzaga, Leo X., Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici and Joanna of Aragon, were all either patrons or their intimate friends; Bindo Altoviti, Inghirami, Bibbiena, Beazzano, Navagero, Tebaldeo, Castiglione and the Fornarina, formed his own *entourage*. All that others could obtain from him was their introduction as minor personages in frescoes, where sometimes they appeared in very insignificant characters.

It is supposed that the Pitti Julius II. is one of the first portraits done by Raphael in Rome. Every one knows this picture, yet who knows where to find the original? Many examples lay claim to the honour; yet even if we put aside all but the two preserved in the Tribune of the Uffizi and in the Pitti Palace, the problem is still far from being solved. Twenty years ago the one in the Pitti was generally believed to be the original. Now, however, most connois-

seurs pronounce in favour of the picture in the Tribune, and believe the first-named to be a Venetian copy.

His portrait of Bindo Altoviti is very different. In place of a man

LUCRETIA.

(Facsimile of the Engraving by Marc-Antonio.)

worn and bent with age, we see a youth full of health and vigour with long fair hair reaching to his shoulders, frank blue eyes and a laughing mouth, revealing one of those expansive natures which Raphael loved. The portrait of Bindo Altoviti remained until 1808

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.

in the palace of his descendants at Florence; it was then bought by Prince Louis of Bavaria, who placed it in the museum at Munich.

There seems very little reason to doubt that Raphael was the author of the famous portrait in the Barberini Gallery known as the "Fornarina." In support of this opinion we may quote a letter, dated 1595, in which mention is made of a portrait by Raphael in the possession of the Countess Santa-Fiora at Rome, representing a nude female figure, half length. A second letter, dated 1597, speaks of the same portrait as a "Venus." And finally in 1618, Fabio Chigi, the future Pope Alexander VII., formulates the theory that the woman of the portrait was Raphael's mistress. The comparatively recent date of this last hypothesis has caused its rejection by many modern critics, but we think that an argument in its support, which has hardly received the consideration it deserves, is supplied by the existence in the Villa Lante, on the Janiculum, of an old fresco, representing the Barberini portrait together with a portrait of Raphael, and significantly coupling the two with portraits of Titian and his mistress.

It is also from the reign of Julius II. that the first engravings of Marc-Antonio date. The *Lucretia* is justly considered a masterpiece. Everything shows that Marc-Antonio took infinite trouble with the work, and did his best to gain Raphael's approval.

The *Massacre of the Innocents*, the studies for which are now in the Albertina Gallery, was treated about the same time as the *Judgment of Solomon*, that is about 1510. In it Raphael returned to a subject he had been attracted by in extreme youth. This attachment to ideas once held is a distinctive trait of his character.

The winter of 1513 was a sad one for Raphael. On February 20 died the greatest of his benefactors and the greatest of the Popes, Julius II., who had been the first to give him a task worthy of his powers; he who, hard and stern towards others, had treated the young painter with almost fatherly affection. Raphael had been about four years and a half in the service of the Soldier-Pope. The mere recapitulation of the works executed in this short period fills us with admiration and amazement.

CHAPTER XIII

When Cardinal Giovanni was raised to the Papal throne, the name of Medici had for almost a century been celebrated throughout Europe in connection with literature and art. Cosmo, the "Father of his country," understood that if a simple citizen wished to make himself worthy to govern so illustrious a town he must place himself at the head of the intellectual movement which was then making Florence the Athens of Italy. During thirty years his influence was almost that of a king. He gave his treasures to found an academy, to build palaces, to fill them with frescoes, and to found a museum of antiquities that had no equal. His name is indissolubly connected with those of Brunelleschi, Donatello, Michelozzo, Filippo Lippi, Niccolò Niccoli, Traversari, and Ficino; in short, with all the great Florentine leaders of the Renaissance. Not content with energetically helping the onward progress of art, he also placed at the disposal of the artists the most perfect existing models of classic antiquity. His collection, which was under the superintendence of Donatello, in time contained an unequalled store of marbles, bronzes, gems, and medals. Rome was Rome no longer, and Florence took her place. His son Pietro followed in his footsteps; but both he and his father were only forerunners of the most brilliant of their family, the Magnificent Lorenzo, father of Leo X.

Born and educated in such an atmosphere, a disciple of Politian, Mirandola, and Ficino, intimate with all the illustrious men of science, art, and letters of Florence, it was but natural that Giovanni, the favourite son of Lorenzo, should have been from boyhood initiated into all intellectual delights. After Giovanni, then scarcely fifteen, had obtained the Cardinal's purple, Lorenzo, who, if we may believe his contemporaries, had paid 200,000 golden ducats for this honour, wrote him an admirable letter in which he recommended him among other things to prefer a true antique to the richest ornaments, jewels, or embroidery. "Silks and jewels," he says, "seldom become a prelate such as you now are. Interest yourself rather in fine books and curious pieces of antiquity." But fortune soon turned her back on the Medici. Their expulsion from Florence, the pillage of their treasures, the dispersion of their collections, were blows to crush the strongest. Cardinal Giovanni never despaired. Remaining in Rome, he continued to be the ardent patron of arts and letters. The restoration of the church of the Navicella, from which Giovanni took his title as

PORTRAIT OF LEO X.

(Pitti Palace.)

Cardinal, placed him among the first of the Roman art-patrons; it has been said that Raphael directed this work. It is not surprising that on mounting the Papal throne Giovanni was crippled with debt. Happily the treasures left by Julius II. permitted him to indulge to the full his inherited love for magnificence. His election created, both in Rome and throughout Italy, indescribable enthusiasm. People were tired of the stern and warlike temperament of Julius II., and his successor had long been known for his gentleness and liberality.

The prodigality of Leo X. had for pendant an intellectual epicureanism such as Italy never before had seen. Every department of science and art, every branch of literature, obtained a share of the Pope's patronage, without, however, causing him to neglect the interests of the Church, or still more those of Medici.

He was the incarnation of the Renaissance, not in its purest, but in its most brilliant form. Great as the power of Nicholas V. and of Sixtus IV. had been, those Popes had never grouped round them so many illustrious men. From the very commencement of Leo's reign the pontifical court became the centre of a political and artistic movement. On one side were sages and writers—such as Ariosto, Bembo, Bibbiena, Sadoleto, Inghirami, Castiglione, Beroaldus, Beazzano, Tebaldeo, Navagero, Colocci, Acciajuoli, Aleandro, Andrea Fulvio, Raphael Maffei da Volterra, Paolo Giovio, Giovanni Lascaris, Aretino, and many others. On the other, men such as Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, surrounded by a phalanx of pupils who themselves soon became masters; then Baldassare Peruzzi, the two Sansovinos, Giuliano and Antonio da San-Gallo, Fra Bartolommeo, Sodoma, Signorelli, Sebastiano, Fra Giocondo, Marcillat, Giovanni Barile, Caradosso, and many others. It was more like an assembly of gods than of simple mortals. The great Leonardo himself mixed in the brilliant crowd, surrounded by his pupils, Beltraffio, Melzi, Salai, Lorenzo, and Fanfaia.

Each Pope's reign is inaugurated by coronation *fêtes* and a procession. The procession of Leo X. is the most magnificent recorded in history. Raphael, no doubt, personally assisted.

Never before had Rome seen such a gorgeous display.

The coronation and procession were but the prelude to other *fêtes*. The most unique, perhaps, of all those organized by Leo X. was one in which Baraballo da Gaëta, the least scrupulous poet of the time, was the hero. This grotesque personage thought himself a second Petrarch, and his ambition was to be crowned on the Capitol. The Pope accepted the idea gleefully, and the *fête* day of the saints

Cosma and Damian was chosen for the ceremony. It was decided that Baraballo should be dressed as a triumphant Roman general, and mounted on an elephant which had been presented to the Pope by the King of Portugal. In vain did the poet's family, who were of distinguished rank in Gaëta, implore him to abandon his ridiculous project. Baraballo only thought they were jealous, and reproached them. The day arrived, and clad in a gold-embroidered purple robe, he passed through the streets on his elephant amidst the shouts of the people and the sound of trumpets and tambourines. At the bridge of Saint Angelo, the elephant refused to lend itself any longer to the public diversion, and Baraballo was forced to dismount. Leo wished Raphael to perpetuate the remembrance of it, and Giovanni Barile carried out the young painter's design in a mosaic which still exists over the door of the *Camera della Segnatura*. The old poet is seated on a throne supported by an elephant, and bearing the inscription: POETA BARRABAL.

Baraballo disappeared after this, but the elephant continued to play a conspicuous part at the papal court. It died in 1516, and Leo, to assuage the grief of the people, had it painted by Raphael in colossal dimensions, on a high tower at the entrance to the Vatican. Below the portrait was the following inscription :—

JO. BAPTISTA BRACONIVS AQVILANVS A CVBICVLO
ET ELEPHANTIS CVRÆ PRÆFECTVS
POSVIT
MDXVI. 8 JVNII
LEONIS X. PONT. ANNO QVARTO
RAPHAEL VRBINAS QVOD NATURA ABSTVLERAT
ARTE RESTITVIT.

Some may think the acceptance of such a commission lowering to the dignity both of Raphael and his art. But the Pope's chamberlain, Giovanni Battista dell' Aquila, looked after the elephant, so it was not astonishing that the Pope's painter took its portrait.

The Vatican, and sometimes the castle of St. Angelo, were the scenes of other *fêtes*. Leo X. loved comedy, and did not disdain to take part in the *Calandra* of Bibbiena and the *Suppositi* of Ariosto. Painting played a principal part in these representations. Raphael undertook the scenery of the *Suppositi*. Had not Mantegna in 1501 painted the cartoons of the *Triumph of Cæsar* and the *Triumph of Petrarch* in the theatre of Mantua? In 1513, when the *Pœnulus* of Plautus was given in honour of Giuliano de' Medici, did not Baldassare Peruzzi paint the scenery for the theatre on the Capitol, and a

little later scenes for the *Calandra?*. The intervals between the *fêtes* and the theatrical representations were filled up by splendid banquets. The Pope spent 8000 ducats a month on his table. Yet all his biographers describe it as having been of the simplest character, as he gave to his guests neither expensive wines nor delicate viands. The banquets given to the Pope by Agostino Chigi displayed a pomp worthy of the Roman Empire itself. The feast given by him in 1518 to Leo X., fourteen cardinals, and numerous ambassadors, deserves special mention. It took place in the famous stable just completed by Raphael, before the rightful four-footed owners had taken possession. The walls were hung with superb tapestries of golden tissue, which concealed the racks and mangers. On the floor was laid a gorgeous silk carpet made in Flanders. The repast cost 2000 golden ducats, and Leo X., amazed at all this magnificence, said to his host: "Agostino, your banquet has made me afraid of you." "Do not alter your feelings, Holy Father," replied the banker, "this place is more humble than you think," and, raising the hangings, showed his Holiness that the dining-hall was only a stable. Leo laughed good-humouredly at this, and promised to come again. Upon the same occasion Chigi gave a better proof of his *savoir-faire*. Eleven massive silver plates of great weight having disappeared, doubtless stolen by some of the Pope's retinue, Chigi ordered the fact to be kept secret, to avoid annoyance to his guests. As soon as the feast was over a hundred horses took their places in the hall.

In a second banquet given to the Pope a few months later, Chigi showed that he possessed wit as well as love of magnificence. The feast was held in his pavilion upon the bank of the Tiber, and each splendid dish, when emptied, was cast by the servitors into the water, which was as much as to say that Chigi was so rich in silver plate that he could afford new dishes for each course. The wonder of the guests was great. They did not know that their cunning host had spread nets below the surface of the yellow water, and that, after the feast, his servants would go a-fishing for silver. At a third banquet the Pope himself, twelve cardinals, and a crowd of prelates, were served upon silver dishes, each of which bore the arms of him before whom it was placed.

Before these excesses, worthy of ancient Rome, moralists veiled their faces and gave vent to sinister predictions. Strangers more especially heaped reproaches on the Roman court. One of the most noble and sympathetic among them, Ulrich von Hutten, who visited Rome in 1516, was so indignant at the frivolity and luxury which he saw on every side that he wrote a long series of sarcastic epigrams,

and published in the same year his famous *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, that thunderbolt which presaged the storms of the Reformation. No amusement, indeed, seemed too profane to the Papal court. The more severe historians go so far as to accuse Leo X. and those who surrounded him of paganism.

A few figures will be of use in showing the share which artists obtained in the liberality of the Pope. He devoted for a time an annual sum of sixty thousand gold ducats—nearly three million of francs, about £120,000—towards the rebuilding of St. Peter's. The completion of the Loggie, the building of the churches of San Giovanni Fiorentino and San Lorenzo at Florence, of the Villa Magliana, and of that at Loretto, and many other great works, also involved enormous sacrifices. Then came the purchase of rich stuffs, valuable furniture, and jewels. Tapestries alone absorbed at least 50,000 ducats: 16,000 for the scenes from the *Acts of the Apostles;* 20,000 for those from the *Life of Christ*—not including the cartoons, &c.; while immense sums were spent upon mere curiosities—1000 ducats for a clock and some musical instruments bought of Conrad Trompa of Nüremberg; 1500 ducats for a narwhal's horn. The decoration of the Vatican was the least expensive of his undertakings, as Raphael received but 1200 ducats for each room. Musicians were equally well treated. The famous improvisatore Bernardo Accolti, surnamed Unico Aretino, whom we have already encountered at the court of Guidobaldo, received such good pay from the Pope that he purchased for himself the title of Duke of Nepi. A Jewish lute-player, Giammaria, obtained the title of Count and a castle. The singer, Gabriel Merino, acquired still greater distinction, as Leo named him Archbishop of Bari. In face of all this, we can hardly treat as a fable Vasari's assertion that Raphael hoped and wished to be made a cardinal.

First among the personages distinguished by birth or talent was the younger brother of Leo X., Giuliano de' Medici, whose lofty mind and noble character made him a truly great man. His last act was worthy of his noble life. Two days before his death he summoned the Pope, his brother, to his side, and implored him to renounce his designs against Urbino, reminding him of all the kindness their family had received from that of Duke Guidobaldo. The Pope simply replied, "Giuliano, think of how to get well; it is not the time to speak of such matters," and notwithstanding the entreaties of his dying brother, he refused to make any promises.

Both painting and sculpture have immortalized Giuliano's features. A short time before his death Raphael, with whom he had been

on intimate terms ever since his stay in Urbino,[1] painted his portrait. A copy of the picture, unfortunately much damaged, was found a few years ago in the possession of the Grand Duchess Marie of Russia.

Very different was Lorenzo, the nephew of both Leo and Giuliano and the worthy father of Catherine de' Medici. The Venetian ambassador to the Holy See describes him as another Cæsar Borgia, but without the energy and audacity which have given to the son of Alexander VI. a kind of epic grandeur. It was he who, for his own profit, induced his uncle to undertake the odious expedition against Urbino; a crime which disgraced his reign, exhausted his finances, and plunged Italy into new troubles before she had recovered from the turmoils of Julius II. Lorenzo did not live to enjoy the fruits of his plots. He died in 1519, at the age of twenty-five. Lorenzo de' Medici was the original of Michael Angelo's *Pensieroso*. Raphael sketched his portrait for a medal which was struck in his honour; and painted the *Holy Family of Francis I.* and the *St. Michael* for him.

The Pope's cousin, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the future Clement VII., also exercised great influence over Leo. The commission for the *Transfiguration* and the building of the Villa Madama ensure him the gratitude of posterity. He, alone of all the Medici, kept a just balance between the two rivals who at this time were disputing the crown of art: for without ceasing to admire Raphael he had the courage to appreciate Michael Angelo. It was under his auspices that the artistic tournament was held between Raphael on the one hand, and the friend and champion of Buonarroti, Sebastiano of Venice, on the other. Among the many relations and friends of Leo X. we must also mention Franceschetto Cibo, his brother-in-law, and his son Innocenzio, whom he made a cardinal; another nephew, Lodovico Rossi, whom Raphael, in his celebrated portrait in the Pitti, has painted standing at the Pope's elbow. All these were remarkable for their love of display.

Among the friends and patrons of our painter we must not forget Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci. It was he who ordered the *St. Cecilia;* and Raphael painted his portrait.

Giannozzo Pandolfini, bishop of Troja, was another of Raphael's friends and patrons. His portrait was introduced into the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, and for him Raphael designed the famous palace in

[1] When Giuliano became Duc de Nemours, and was occupied with his household, he did not forget Raphael. The name of the Umbrian artist stands among those of his friends, in a list made in 1515, and signed by Giuliano (State Archives of Florence, Strozzi No. 10, fol. 179).

the Via San-Gallo at Florence. For Giovanni Battista Branconio dell' Aquila, Raphael built the beautiful Palazzo del Borgo and painted the *Visitation*, now in the *Museo* of Madrid. Branconio was one of Raphael's executors. One of the Pope's doctors must also be included among the friends of the painter, who built a palace for him which may still be seen in the neighbourhood of the Vatican.

Among the numerous poets and scholars who formed part of the same circle were the Venetian Andrea Navagero, Beazzano, who was a confidential agent to the Vatican, Antonio Tebaldeo, whose portrait Raphael painted, and Giacomo Sannazaro, the author of a famous poem, *De partu Virginis*. A letter of Bembo's gives us a glimpse of the happy company making an excursion to Tivoli. "To-morrow," writes the apostolic secretary, "after twenty-seven years, I shall again see Tivoli, with Navagero, Beazzano, Castiglione, and Raphael; we want to see everything, ancient and modern, and are going there for the amusement of Andrea (Navagero), who returns to Venice to-morrow after the sacrament."

It was Leo X. who brought to Rome Marco Fabio Calvo, who exercised much influence over Raphael. Born at Ravenna, in the first half of the fifteenth century, Calvo, one of the noble family of the Guiccioli, devoted himself early in life to the study of Latin and Greek. Leo X. created him first a prior and afterwards archpriest of San Piero in Trento, besides giving him other honours and a pension, which enabled him to devote his whole time to study. He cared nothing for money; lived entirely upon vegetables, and shared with his friends and relations the annual sum granted him by the Pope. Notwithstanding his age and infirmities he studied with all the vigour of youth. Raphael, who at this time amused himself by an imaginary restoration of ancient Rome, and wished to obtain the help of Calvo's antiquarian knowledge, took him to live with him, and tended him with a son's devotion; while Calvo repaid the obligation by translating Vitruvius for him. In 1525 he published his translation of Hippocrates. Made prisoner during the sack of Rome in 1627, he was despoiled of all he possessed, and being unable to pay the enormous ransom demanded of him, his tormentors dragged him with them wherever they went, until at last he died of hunger and fatigue in a hospital near Rome.

A gathering of artists, such as had never before been known, added to the *éclat* of Leo's court. Bramante, Fra Giocondo, and Giuliano da San-Gallo were now old, but the Pope still held them in high favour. A new generation was springing up, composed chiefly of Bramante's scholars, amongst them Antonio da San-Gallo, Gio-

vanni Francesco da San-Gallo, Aristotele da San-Gallo, Baldassare Peruzzi, and the numerous architects who were employed in the rebuilding of St. Peter's.

Painting was also well represented, for, besides Raphael, we hear of Leonardo da Vinci, who executed, at the end of 1513 or the commencement of 1514, two pictures for Baldassare Turini; of Fra Bartolommeo, who in the spring of 1514 painted the *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, which are still in the Quirinal; of Sodoma, who presented to the Pope a picture of the *Death of Lucretia*, and received a knighthood in return. About the same time Luca Signorelli again tried his fortune in Rome. Timoteo Viti, Raphael's friend and fellow-countryman, also arrived during the early part of Leo's reign, and assisted in the Sibyls of the Pace; Girolamo Genga, an Urbinese, also worked among the assistants of Raphael. As for the great chief of the School of Ferrara, Benvenuto Tisio, better known as Garofalo, he only seems to have paid a flying visit between 1510 and 1512.

But the chief place among all these painters must be assigned to Sebastiano Luciani, the Venetian, who had already begun to give indications of that spirit of envy which poisoned his whole existence. As to Raphael's pupils, they now began to develop into a legion. The most promising among them were Marc Antonio, Giulio Romano, and Giovanni da Udine.

Sculpture was represented by the great Michael Angelo, Raphael's illustrious rival, to whom Leo X., who never gave much encouragement to sculpture, as it was too severe for his taste, confided the completion of San Lorenzo at Florence, the patron church of the Medici. The decorative arts obtained many recruits under Leo X. Giovanni Barile succeeded Giovanni of Verona, and was employed under Raphael in carving doors and other ornamental details in the Vatican Stanze. Amongst the gold and silver smiths Antonio da San-Marino was, according to Benvenuto Cellini, the first of his time; Caradosso alone could compete with him. Antonio, who is interesting to us on account of his close connection with Raphael, combined the trade of goldsmith with the dignity of ambassador, as he represented his native country, the Republic of San-Marino, in its not very onerous negotiations with the Holy See. In 1509 we hear of him as one of the founders of the brotherhood of St. Aloysius, and in 1513 for the magnificence of his decorations at the inauguration of Leo X. He exhibited in front of his shop a fine antique statue of Venus, upon the pedestal of which he had written in letters of gold the following Latin verse, which seems to allude to Chigi's famous motto—*Olim habuit Cypris sua tempora*:—

"Mars fuit, est Pallas: Cypria semper ero." [1]
(Mars was, Pallas is; I, Cypria, shall for ever be.)

Antonio soon became acquainted with Raphael, who presented him with a picture—the subject of it is unfortunately not stated—which Castiglione tried afterwards to procure.[2] In his will Chigi desires his two friends to superintend the finishing of his chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. So great was Raphael's affection for Antonio, that he bequeathed to him a great portion of the lands that he had purchased near the church of Saint Blasius.

CHAPTER XIV

Raphael feared for a moment that the death of Julius II. would bring to the papal throne some one less favourably disposed towards art. We find traces of this in his reply to the tutor of the youthful Frederick of Mantua, on February 19, 1513, the day after the death of Julius II. "Messire Raphael of Urbino," writes the tutor to his master, "has returned me the vestments of Messire Federigo that he had taken for his portrait; he prays your highness to forgive him, as at present it is impossible for him to rouse his spirits to continue the work." The accession of Leo X. reassured him. His election resulted in the elevation of most of Raphael's friends to the highest dignities. Giuliano de' Medici was a Roman patrician, and later Captain-General of the Church; Bibbiena, a cardinal; Bembo, Apostolic Secretary. As to the Duke of Urbino, Castiglione, Inghirami, Chigi, and others, they were as ready to help him, at least for several years, as they were in the time of Julius II. Even had he not possessed so many powerful and devoted friends Raphael would soon have won the favour of the new Pope. He had not only become the most celebrated painter, but the most finished courtier of his day. Left to himself whilst still a boy, the young Urbinese had felt the necessity of developing those diplomatic qualities with which nature had so richly endowed him, and easily acquired the power to charm by gentleness and courtesy. Connected during his life at Perugia with ecclesiastics and people who were above the struggles of life, his manners had been formed before his first return to Urbino. In Florence he learnt all the intrigues of

[1] Cancellieri, *Storia*, p. 74.
[2] *Lettere pittoriche*, ed. Ticozzi, t. v. pp. 239, 240, 242.

the artistic world; at Rome, under the teaching of Bramante, he got an insight into those of the papal court. Four years passed in the service of such a despot as Julius II. taught him to yield when it was necessary, to turn the flank of obstacles, and generally to make the best of his social qualities. It cost him little to be conciliatory and pleasing. Unselfishness and amiability were natural to him; nevertheless, he knew on occasion how to make himself feared without having recourse to other arms than mother wit.

His repartees were both lively and keen, and reduced more than one great noble to silence. One day two cardinals came to his studio and amused themselves by finding fault with his pictures of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, saying that the faces of these two apostles were too red. "Do not be surprised, your Eminences, at that," replied Raphael, "I painted them so deliberately; may we not think that they can blush in heaven when they see their Church governed by such men as you?" His reply to Michael Angelo, who said to him sarcastically, "You go about with a suite like a general," was "And you alone, like the hangman."

The qualities which were most required for success with a pope like Leo X. were complaisance and expedition. Leo heaped work of all kinds upon Raphael. One day he had to improvise the scenery for a theatre, the next to paint the portrait of an elephant, or was asked to sketch out a design for a building, or a medal. What would Michael Angelo have said to such a demand? The death of Bramante, which took place soon after the accession of the new Pope, was a great misfortune for Raphael. It deprived him not only of a true friend, but an adviser full of tact and experience; and compelled him alone to undertake the crushing burden of the erection of St. Peter's. Nor was this all. Raphael succeeded Bramante as General Superintendent of the Fine Arts also. He had at one and the same time to wield the brush and the compass, to arrange *fêtes* and to superintend excavations. Full of youthful confidence and facility, Raphael accepted the multitudinous tasks imposed upon him.

His feelings at this time are seen in the beautiful letter written to his uncle Simone.

"To my very dear uncle Simone, son of Battista di Ciarla
of Urbino, at Urbino.

"Thou who art dear to me as a Father,

"I have received your letter; it was doubly welcome, as it showed me that you were not angry with me, although you had

STUDY FOR A GROUP IN THE BATTLE OF OSTIA.
(Albertina Collection.)

STUDY FOR ONE OF THE FIGURES IN THE INCENDIO DEL BORGO.
(Uffizi.)

reason to be so; but you must not forget how difficult it is to write when one has nothing to say. To-day I have many things to tell you. As for a wife, I must tell you that I am daily thankful that I did not take the one you destined for me, or indeed any other. In this instance I have been wiser than you, who wished to make me change my state; and I am sure that you must now see that I am better as I am. I have capital in Rome worth 3000 ducats, and an assured income of fifty more. His Holiness allows me a salary of 300 ducats for superintending the rebuilding of St. Peter's, which will not fail me as long as I live, and I am certain to make more by it in time. Besides this, they give me whatever I ask for my works. I have commenced the decoration of a large hall for his Holiness, for which I am to get 1200 golden crowns. Thus, you must see, my dear uncle, that I do honour to my family as well as to my country. But still I keep you in fond remembrance, and when I hear your name it sounds to me like that of a father. Do not complain of my not writing. It is more difficult for me to do so than for you, who, though having pen always in hand, allow six months to pass between your letters. Nevertheless, you are not going to make me angry with you, as you, unjust one, were with me. Having prematurely left the subject of marriage, I must return to it for a moment to tell you that (the cardinal of) St. Maria in Portico wishes me to marry a relation of his, which I have promised to do on getting your consent and that of my reverend uncle. Having so promised, I must not break my word. The affair will soon be settled now, either one way or the other. If it ends in marriage, you must forgive me; if not, I shall be at your orders. You must know that if Francesca Buffa can make a good match, so can I. There is in Rome a young lady with a dower of 3000 gold ducats (and 100 ducats here are worth more than 200 in Urbino), of good birth, and with an excellent reputation, who is ready to marry me.

"As to my living in Rome, I can no longer help myself, on account of the building of St. Peter's, where I have succeeded to Bramante. But is there any better place than Rome? Could any undertaking be more noble than the building of St. Peter's, the first church of the world? It will be the largest building ever seen, and will cost more than a million in gold. The Pope has resolved to give towards it 60,000 ducats a year, and thinks of nothing else. He has given me as a colleague a very learned monk, who is more than eighty years old, and whose reputation is great. Knowing that he has not long to live, his Holiness expressly gave me him as a colleague that he might teach me the secrets of architecture and make me perfect in

the art; his name is Fra Giocondo. The Pope sends for us daily, and enters into long discussions about the work.

"I beg you to go to the Duke and Duchess, and to tell them all that I have told you, for I know they will feel pleasure in hearing that one of their subjects has distinguished himself. Recommend me to their Highnesses, as I recommend myself to you without ceasing. Greet all my relations and friends from me, especially Ridolfo, who regards me with so much affection.

"Your RAPHAEL,

"Painter at Rome.

"July 1st, 1514."

So numerous were the works undertaken by Raphael during the reign of Leo X. (from 1513 to 1520), that it is impossible to follow them step by step. We shall consider them, therefore, according to subject and not in their chronological order.

The completion of the pictures in the Stanze was doubtless the first work assigned to Raphael by his new patron. The second *Stanza*, that of Heliodorus, was finished in the year 1514. About the middle of the same year Raphael received the commission for the frescoes of the third room, which is known as the *Stanza dell' Incendio del Borgo*. A little later, in 1515, he sent to Albert Dürer the famous study for one of the groups in the *Battle of Ostia*—one of the four frescoes in the hall in question.

It was not until the year 1517 that Raphael found time to complete this great work, though he painted but a very small portion of it with his own hand. The date, 1517, is given in an inscription in the hall itself; it is also known by a letter from the Ferrarese *chargé d'affaires*, dated the 6th of June of that year, in which he states that in two days Raphael will have finished the paintings of the *Stanze* for the Pope.

A letter from Bembo to Bibbiena, written July 19, 1517, shows with what favour these new frescoes were received by the pontifical court. "The *Stanze* painted by Raphael are quite beautiful, not only on account of the skill shown in the execution, but also on account of the great number of clergy whose portraits he has introduced." The admiration which they aroused was not, however, unanimous. Speaking of the frescoes recently completed at the Villa Chigi, the saddler Leonardo writes to Michael Angelo that they excel those of the last hall of the Vatican—that of the *Incendio del Borgo*. "Peggio che l'ultima stanza di palazzo assai." (Letter of January 1, 1518.)

The *Incendio del Borgo* is the only fresco in the third *Stanza* that can be considered Raphael's work. In the *Battle of Ostia*, the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, and the *Oath of Leo III.*, the assistance of pupils is but too evident. Overwhelmed with work, Raphael had only time to compose the *Cartoons*, leaving to his scholars the labours of tracing and painting them. Hence the want of life in the heads, the coldness of the colouring, and the want of delicacy in the details. Sometimes he was obliged to allow others to help in the execution of the *Cartoons*. The time had passed when he could wait for the execution of a subject till his ideas were ripened by meditation.

Both Pope and artist had presentiments of early death, and each was animated by a strong desire—the Pope longed to multiply proofs of his magnificence—the painter proofs of his genius. Rarely has there been seen, in the whole history of art, such a fever of production.

In the first of the frescoes in the Torre Borgia, the *Incendio del Borgo*, Raphael exalts an episode of the *Liber Pontificalis* to the height of an epic poem. The representation of a miracle accomplished six or seven hundred years before by Pope Leo IV.—who, by making the sign of the cross, stopped the flames which threatened to destroy the Borgo—was not a subject likely to inspire an artist of the Renaissance. But with Raphael it is not the Borgo which is burning, but Troy. The admirable group on the left, composed of Æneas Anchises, Crëusa, and Ascanius, forbids any doubt upon the point. Stupor, resignation, despair, devotion, heroism, are here personified once for all. In this celebrated work Raphael has renounced that unity and rhythm which had formerly ruled his compositions. Here, in place of a large and excited crowd, there are but a few groups, sometimes even solitary figures, all without very intimate cohesion. Every one is thinking of himself, and not of his neighbour. The scattered interest lessens the effect of the work.

In the pictures of the third room, Raphael's part was confined to the *Cartoons*, and it is not certain that even these were done by his own hand. The genuineness of many of the figures is disputed, and critics are quite unable to agree as to the part that may be attributed to the master himself. Innumerable restorations, the earliest dating from the reign of Clement XII., further diminish our interest in the *Battle of Ostia*, the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, and the *Oath of Leo III.*

The *Battle of Ostia* was, however, prepared with much care. The superb drawing in red chalk, now in the Albertina collection—the drawing which Raphael sent to Dürer in 1515—is enough to prove this. The great German painter treasured it carefully, and wrote on

it the famous inscription: "1515. Raphael of Urbino, who has been held in high esteem by the Pope, drew these naked figures, and sent them to Albrecht Dürer, of Nüremberg, to show him his hand." In the *Battle of Ostia*, as in the other works in the same room, the true hero is Leo X., and not Leo IV. He it is who, sitting on the bank with his cardinals, Giulio de' Medici and Bibbiena, bestows on the soldiers the benedictions of Heaven, and accepts the submission of the vanquished, who are prostrate before him.

The *Coronation of Charlemagne* is but an echo of the interview between Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna, in 1515. The Pope, who is placing the crown on the head of the great ruler of the Franks, is not Leo III. but Leo X., and Francis I. is acting the part of Charlemagne.

The intrusion of contemporary politics into the domain of historical painting is still more visible in the last of the frescoes of the Torre Borgia—the *Oath of Leo III.* It is now generally agreed that this was painted by a scholar working under the direction of Raphael.

We shall not describe the frescoes in the last Stanza, which is now known as the *Hall of Constantine*, as not one of them is by Raphael. At the death of the master in April 1520, the work in the last of the *Stanze* was not begun. The Pope had not even definitely fixed upon the subjects to be illustrated.

CHAPTER XV

Leo X., in his anxiety to complete the decoration of the Vatican, wished Raphael, before finishing the paintings in the Stanze, to begin those of the Loggie, so that both works could be carried on simultaneously. The Loggie are the galleries which run round the court of San Damaso, and form on the south the façade of the old palace of the Vatican. Commenced by Bramante in the reign of Julius II., the Loggie were finished after the death of their first architect by Raphael himself. The first storey of the Loggie communicates with the Borgia apartments; the second, with the Stanze. Until the beginning of the present century these splendid galleries were open to the air. An inclosure of glass now protects them from the occasional inclemency of the Roman climate, from which they have suffered much. Nothing certain is known as to the decoration of the Loggia called Raphael's. We are in ignorance of the date

when the work was begun, and do not know what part Raphael took in it. Vasari, indeed, was informed by contemporaries of Raphael that he composed the designs for the stucco work and the paintings of this Loggia.

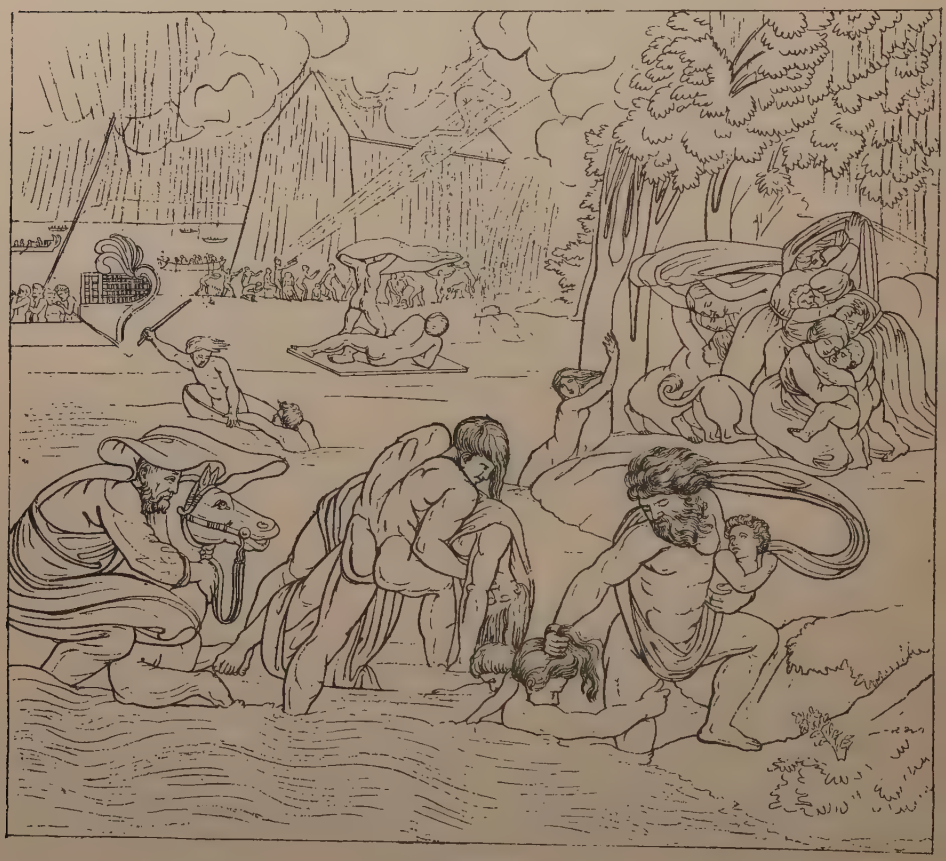
Herr Springer affirms that Raphael had nothing to do with most of these compositions, more especially with those of the three last arcades. These works are as remarkable for carelessness and indiffer-

ADAM AND EVE.

ence as the early ones are for grace and freshness. To suppose them the work of Raphael would be almost an outrage to his memory. It is more than likely, that, preoccupied by the works of St. Peter's, he left to his scholars a task that was beyond their powers.

The arcade that was intrusted to Raphael for decoration consists of thirteen bays, the ceiling forming as many little domes. Each bay contains four frescoes, making fifty-two in all, representing scenes

taken from the Old and New Testaments. The pilasters, door-frames, and embrasures of the windows, are ornamented with flowers, fruit, grotesque animals, &c.; some of these are painted in fresco, others modelled in stucco. The subjects are varied. A pavement of enamelled tiles, put down by Luca della Robbia the younger (born 1475, died 1550), completes this work, one of the finest and most



THE DELUGE.

varied of the Renaissance. These frescoes are often happily called *Raphael's Bible*. The idea of presenting the chief events of the Old Testament in a pictorial form was not a new one. Under the touching name of *Biblia Pauperum*, the Middle Ages have given us innumerable paintings and miniatures of scenes taken from the Old Testament and the Evangelists.

Following the practice of early artists, like Ghiberti and Benozzo

Gozzoli, and Pinturicchio, Raphael rendered each subject in the smallest possible number of figures. His compositions may thus have been narrowed in scope, but they gained in depth. As proving what we say, we may instance the *Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's Dream*. A more harmonious composition, or one more full of grandeur, does not exist; and yet it contains no more than six, or at most seven, figures. His *Creation* is inspired by that of Michael Angelo;

ABRAHAM AND THE THREE ANGELS.

his *Adam and Eve driven from Paradise* by that of Masaccio. But here his borrowing begins and ends. He chooses from the histories in Genesis and Exodus those events which appeal to his own sympathies, and neglects such things as the *Sacrifice of Abel*, the *Drunkenness of Noah*, the *Tower of Babel*, the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, and other subjects popular in the fifteenth century. Space prevents us from studying separately each of the fifty-two compositions which form *Raphael's Bible;* but we give our readers a list of the subjects, enumerating them in the same order as that adopted by Raphael.

FIRST BAY.

God dividing Light from Darkness.—God dividing the Land from the Sea.—The Creation of the Sun and the Moon.—The Creation of the Animals.

SECOND BAY.

The Creation of Eve.—The Fall.—The Exile from Eden.—The Labours of our First Parents.

JACOB AND RACHEL.

THIRD BAY.

The Building of the Ark.—The Deluge.—The Coming Forth from the Ark.—Noah's Sacrifice.

FOURTH BAY.

Abraham and Melchizedek.—The Covenant of God with Abraham.—The Three Angels' Visit to Abraham.—The Flight of Lot.

FIFTH BAY.

God appearing to Isaac.—Isaac embracing Rebekah.—Isaac blessing Jacob.—Esau claiming the Blessing.

SIXTH BAY.

Jacob's Ladder.—Jacob and Rachel.—Jacob asking for Rachel's Hand.—Jacob's Flight from Laban.

SEVENTH BAY.

Joseph telling his Dream to his Brothers.—Joseph sold by his Brethren.—Joseph and Potiphar's Wife.—Joseph before Pharaoh.

JOSEPH'S DREAM.

EIGHTH BAY.

The Finding of Moses.—The Burning Bush.—The Passage of the Red Sea.—Moses striking the Rock.

NINTH BAY.

Moses receiving the Tables of the Law.—The Golden Calf.—The Pillar of Cloud.—Moses showing the Tables of the Law to the People.

TENTH BAY.

The Passage of the Jordan.—The Fall of Jericho.—Joshua's Victory over the Amorites.—The Division of the Promised Land.

ELEVENTH BAY.

David anointed King of Israel.—David and Goliath.—Triumph of David.—David and Bathsheba.

THE BURNING BUSH.

TWELFTH BAY.

The Consecration of Solomon.—The Judgment of Solomon.—The Queen of Sheba.—The Building of the Temple.

THIRTEENTH BAY.

The Adoration of the Shepherds.—The Adoration of the Magi.—The Baptism of Christ.—The Last Supper.

Twelve small frescoes in gilt camaïeu on the socles of the windows complete *Raphael's Bible.* These latter, now almost entirely destroyed,

were executed by Perino del Vaga. Eleven of them are taken from subjects in ancient history (*God Blessing the Sabbath*, the *Offerings of Cain and Abel*, the *Rainbow*, &c.). The subject of the twelfth is the *Resurrection of Christ*.

The ornamentation of the Loggie is justly looked upon as a triumph of decorative art. It affords a good example of the system of decoration inaugurated by Raphael about this time in his *Cartoons*. He made the border independent of the picture, and

THE FINDING OF MOSES.

expressive of nothing but the individual fancy of the artist. In the borders of his great series of tapestries, the *Acts of the Apostles*, he has made use of a great variety of subjects—the History of Leo X., the Seasons, Hours, and Fates. So, in the Loggie, the Bible pictures are surrounded by grotesque figures, architectural views, mythological scenes, &c. A description of all the ornaments of these galleries would be enough to dismay the most enthusiastic worker. Volpato and Ottaviani, who undertook during the last century to make them known by engravings, stopped long before they had completed their work.

Antiquity supplied most of the subjects, but they did not neglect contemporary civilization. There is a peasant watching for birds; a collection of musical instruments; and another composition shows us the pupils of Raphael working upon these very galleries. It is a stucco relief. On the left we see a mason armed with a trowel about to cover the wall with plaster. Next come two artists,—the one painting, the other apparently tracing a design on to the wall; while two of their companions bring them pots of colour and cartoons. On the extreme right a young man is "pricking" a drawing. According to Vasari, Giovanni da Udine was charged with the execution of the arabesques and stucco reliefs, but it is evident from the great taste shown in much of the ornamentation, that Raphael himself took a practical interest in the work.

RAPHAEL'S PUPILS.

(From a stucco relief in the Loggia.)

The decorations of the Vatican contain two more series of frescoes for which Raphael furnished designs, even if he did not take part in their actual execution. The hall of the Pope's pages still contains the figures of Christ and of His Apostles with which it was adorned under the direction of the master. But these frescoes, in green camaïeu, were so greatly repainted, towards the end of the sixteenth century, by Taddeo Zucchero, that it is no longer possible to recognize the hand or even the conception of their author. Happily, the burin of Marc Antonio has preserved the original designs. His engravings show that the Apostles of Raphael would have been worthy companions to those of Dürer.

The other set of frescoes was commissioned, not by the Pope, but by Cardinal Bibbiena. They were intended for the embellishment of a bath-room on the third storey of the palace, close to the Loggie.

THE BATH-ROOM OF CARDINAL BIBBIENA.

In connection with these works, a letter from Bembo to Bibbiena on April 19, 1516, is of interest.

"Thus far had I written, when Raphael himself entered. He seems to have guessed that I was speaking to you of him, and he begged me to add that he wished you to tell him any other subjects which you might desire to have painted in your bath-room. Send him full details of them as soon as you can, because those subjects already chosen will be commenced upon the walls this week."[1]

The subject which Bibbiena chose was the *History of Venus and Cupid.* The artist painted, therefore, in seven large compositions, the *Birth of Venus—Venus and Cupid borne by Dolphins—Venus wounded complaining to Cupid—Jupiter and Antiope—Venus drawing a Thorn from her Foot—Venus and Adonis—Vulcan and Minerva.*[2]

Of all the works of Raphael, the decorations of this bath-chamber show, perhaps, most of the true spirit of the antique. It still exists; but since the middle of the present century it has been closed to visitors, and withdrawn from the study and legitimate curiosity of artists and amateurs. This exclusion is comprehensible enough; according to information which we believe to be worthy of credit, the ceiling has been whitewashed over and the frescoes of the walls hidden behind battens. We are reduced to study the composition in those old copies in St. Petersburg.

The decoration of the Vatican and the direction of the works at St. Peter's were enough to absorb the attention of the most indefatigable of artists, but Leo X., whose demands grew as fast as Raphael supplied them, ordered him also to superintend the decoration of his favourite villa, the Magliana, near Rome. This edifice, which plays such an important part in the biography of Leo X., dates from the time of Innocent VIII. (1484-1492); but Julius II. enlarged it so greatly that we may almost regard it as his creation.

The frescoes in the chapel, which have been so often attributed to Raphael, were executed between 1513 and 1520; they are the *Martyrdom of St. Cecilia*—also called the *Martyrdom of St. Felicita*—and the *Eternal Father blessing the World.* The former was destroyed in 1830 by the barbarian Vitelli. Not wishing to mix with his servants during the celebration of the mass, he constructed a private gallery for himself, and cut an approach to it through the middle of

[1] Passavant, *Raphael*, t. i. p. 236.

[2] This last composition is so imperfect that, according to Passavant (t. ii. p. 231), it can only be attributed to one of the most indifferent of Raphael's pupils.

PILASTERS IN THE LOGGIE.

PILASTERS IN THE LOGGIE.

the *St. Cecilia*. Fortunately, we are able to enjoy the design by Raphael, in the engraving of Marc Antonio.

Better fortune has attended the second of these frescoes. After many vicissitudes it found, in 1873, a final resting-place in the

THE ETERNAL FATHER BLESSING THE WORLD.
(Louvre.)

Louvre.[1] No one has ever doubted that the design for this fresco was the work of Raphael, but that his own hand ever touched it few are ready to admit.

CHAPTER XVI

THE detractors of Leo X. reproach him with having, by ordering Raphael to make cartoons for tapestry, brought down painting to the level of an industry; the Pope, however, only followed the custom of the fifteenth century, while Raphael, by accepting work of subordinate rank, followed the example of his most illustrious predecessors. Cosima Tura, the founder of the early school of Ferrara, Andrea Mantegna, and the great Leonardo himself, had all composed cartoons destined to be carried out in silk and wool. The marvellous tapestries of Flanders had at this time gained universal admiration. For a long

[1] It was purchased at public auction, on April 28, 1873, for 207,500 francs.

time the Flemish workshops had much difficulty in executing the orders of the Italians.

The manufacture which was a source of such wealth to Flanders was afterwards introduced into Italy, workmen being brought from Arras, Bruges, and Brussels. Even in Rome itself, one of Leo's predecessors, Nicolas V. of glorious memory, had founded a manufactory, from which had issued the *History of the Creation.* At the accession of Leo X. the papal wardrobes were choked with these precious tissues; nevertheless he was determined to have more, and resolved to have the cartoons designed in Italy, and the tapestries woven in Flanders. The first series of these tapestries was to represent scenes from the Acts of the Apostles, and to be hung in the Sistine Chapel.

At the time when Leo X. conceived the project of completing the decorations of the Sistine Chapel, it already contained the following paintings: on the vaulted ceiling Michael Angelo had represented the *Days of Creation,* the *Fall of Man,* the *Sacrifice of Abel,* the *Deluge,* the *Drunkenness of Noah,* the *Punishment of Haman,* the *Brazen Serpent, David and Goliath, Judith and Holofernes.* The side walls were decorated, in the time of Sixtus IV., by Luca Signorelli, Sandro Botticelli, Cosimo Roselli, Perugino, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and others, with scenes from the *Life of Moses* on one side and the *Life of Christ* on the other. At the east end were *Moses in the Bulrushes,* the *Nativity,* and the *Assumption of the Virgin.* These three disappeared to make way for the *Last Judgment* of Michael Angelo.

The *Acts of the Apostles,* destined to fill the empty spaces beneath the lateral pictures, symbolized indirectly the institution of the Papacy. In adorning the walls of the Sistine with the splendid series of hangings which began with the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* and the *Charge to Peter,* Leo X. wished to show that his own power descended to him from the Founder of Christianity, and that from the very beginning the fate of Christendom and that of the Roman Church were indissolubly connected with each other.

The date of the commencement of the *Cartoons* by Raphael is uncertain. All that we know is that according to two receipted accounts, the one dated June 15, 1515, the other December 20, 1516, they were far advanced, if not completed, in those years. We may assign the commencement of the work to the year 1514, the second of the reign of Leo X. The Pope seems to have based his intentions as to remuneration upon the sums paid for the decoration of the *Stanze.* For the *Stanza dell' Incendio* he had paid 1200 ducats;

for the *Cartoons*, a work of rather less labour, he gave 1000. As they were ten in number, the artist was paid at the rate of 100 ducats a piece.

Vasari asserts that Raphael painted these works with his own hand; but in his life of Gian-Francesco Penni, he accredits the scholar with having worked upon the scenes from the *Acts of the Apostles* and upon those from the *Life of Christ;* he adds that Penni was especially intrusted with the decorative parts, such as the arabesque borders. We may also recognize in them the hand of Giovanni da Udine.

It was long thought that the tapestries of these *Acts of the Apostles* were woven at Arras, but that is an error. The manufacture of the finer class of hangings ceased almost entirely in that city after its capture by Louis XI. in 1477, and Brussels succeeded to the heritage of its rival, but the name of Arras long remained attached, not only in Italy, but also in England and Spain, to all kinds of woven tapestries.

The weaving of the *Acts of the Apostles* seems to have been completed in three or four years. In December 1519, the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, the *Calling of St. Peter*, the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, the *Conversion of St. Paul*, the *Healing of the Lame Man*, *Elymas struck with Blindness*, and the *Sacrifice at Lystra* adorned the walls of the chapel. The eighth piece was still unfinished. As to the other two they seem to have been still in Flanders. The whole series was hung up in 1520. These tapestries cost 15,000 ducats, or 1500 for each piece. This included the price of the gold thread, which was, no doubt, the heaviest item. When they were exhibited in the chapel for the first time on December 26, 1519, the *fête* day of St. Stephen, they created an extraordinary *furore*. "The whole chapel," writes Pâris di Grassis, in his *Diarium*, "was struck dumb by the sight of these hangings; by universal consent there is nothing more beautiful in the world; they are each worth 2000 ducats." Vasari, thirty years afterwards, expressed in terms no less enthusiastic the admiration which the great series had aroused in him.

These *Acts of the Apostles* have passed through many strange vicissitudes. At the death of Leo X. they were pawned for a sum of 5000 ducats. In the sack of Rome in 1527 they underwent still greater indignities; the soldiers of Frondsberg and of the Constable de Bourbon laid sacrilegious hands upon them, and the *Punishment of Elymas* still shows the results of their brutality; they cut it into small pieces in order to sell it more easily. Two of the hangings strayed as far as Constantinople, whence they were restored to the

Vatican through the good offices of the Constable de Montmorenci in 1554. At this time the Constable caused the lower part of the left-hand border of the *Paul Preaching at Athens* to be re-woven. The inscription traced on this border, the shield of the Montmorenci, and the genii supporting it, were added by his direction.

For two centuries and a half the *Acts of the Apostles* adorned the Sistine Chapel. No marks of admiration were denied to them. Louis XIV. had them copied in oil, and those copies, after being used for the series of tapestries now preserved in the *Garde-meuble National*, were taken to the Cathedral of Meaux, where they still hang. Year after year, down to 1797, the "Arazzi" were exhibited to the public in the Piazza of St. Peter's on the *fête* of the Corpus Christi.

The French Revolution brought new misfortunes on them. Authentic documents, however, which I myself have discovered within the last few years, prove beyond dispute that these splendid works were never either stolen or sold to the Jews of the Ghetto. Put up to auction with the rest of the papal effects after the entry of the French army into Rome in the early months of 1798, both sets of tapestries were bought for 1250 piastres a-piece by a clique of French brokers. These men took them to Genoa, whence they were dispatched to Paris by order of Commissary Faypoult. The only one left behind was the *Descent into Hell*, which was either separated from the rest at Genoa, or kept back from the sale in Rome. The whole series was deposited in the Louvre, and the Government seems to have intended to incorporate it with the permanent national collections. This intention, however, was frustrated by the state of the public finances—as we are told in one of Chaptal's letters—and the tapestries were given up to their owners' representatives, MM. Coen and Nouvel. From the time of their restoration to their temporary owners until 1808, we lose all trace of them. Whether they were bought from some Genoese merchants by Pius VII., as Platner asserts, or remained in the hands of the brokers until 1808, we do not know. It is certain, however, that in the year named they were restored to their former situation in the Vatican Chapel, never again, let us hope, to quit it.

The original *Cartoons* fared no better. In possession of the hangings themselves, with their gold and silver bravery, Leo X. probably forgot the existence of the designs from which they had been prepared. These remained in the factory at Brussels, and served as models for other sets. The borders were employed to grace designs which had nothing whatever to do with the *Acts of the Apostles*. Those which contain the *Fates* and the *Hours* were exactly reproduced

in the *History of Henry II.*, now in the Uffizi. Only one of the cartoons, so far as we know, returned to Italy, viz. that of the *Conversion of St. Paul.* The *Anonimo* of Morelli saw it in 1521 in the collection of Cardinal Grimani at Venice, where it still remained in 1528. Two others, the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* and *St. Paul in Prison,* disappeared and left no trace. A century later Rubens discovered the seven remaining cartoons at Brussels, and advised Charles I. to purchase them. That prince became the possessor, for no inconsiderable sum, of these gigantic sketches by the Prince of Painters, and caused them to be copied in tapestry at the Royal Factory at Mortlake. When the collections of the unhappy king were dispersed, Cromwell succeeded in retaining these priceless waifs in England by the modest expenditure of three hundred pounds. In the reign of William III. the *Cartoons,* which had until then remained in the fragmentary condition to which they had been reduced for facility in copying, were carefully pieced together and affixed to canvas. Sir Christopher Wren built a gallery for them at Hampton Court, where they remained until their removal to the South Kensington Museum a few years ago. In spite of all the mutilation and other damage which they have had to undergo, they still retain much of their early beauty, and form one of the proudest possessions of the English capital.

The *Acts of the Apostles* comprise the following subjects: the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes, The Calling of St. Peter,* the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen,* the *Healing of the Lame Man,* the *Death of Ananias,* the *Conversion of St. Paul, Elymas struck with Blindness, Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, St. Peter in Prison,* and *St. Paul Preaching at Athens.*

The first two, the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* and *The Calling of St. Peter,* are distinguished by perfect simplicity. In the first, St. Peter and another disciple are adoring Christ, whilst their companions are drawing up the net. In the other, Christ is giving the keys to the Prince of the Apostles in presence of his fellow disciples.

In the *Healing of the Lame Man,* the decorative element, which had been banished from the first two frescoes, re-appears; gorgeous architecture, the twisted columns of the Vatican basilica, said to have been brought from the temple at Jerusalem, varied costumes, crowds of worshippers, make up a brilliant whole.

As a dramatic creation, the *Death of Ananias* is worthy of the *Expulsion of Heliodorus.* The Apostles, grouped upon a daïs in the centre, have inquired into the conduct of Ananias. St. Peter, the instrument of Divine vengeance, extends his hand towards the guilty

man, who falls as if struck by lightning, and rolls in convulsive agony. Another apostle points to heaven, and seems to proclaim the justice of the punishment.

STUDY FOR THE FIGURE OF CHRIST IN THE CALLING OF PETER.

We may pass rapidly over the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* and the *Conversion of St. Paul;* they are not up to the level of the rest, and

we may conclude that Raphael's pupils had a large share in their production.

The *Punishment of Elymas* is another pathetic episode. We cannot praise this composition better than by comparing it with the words of St. Luke himself, whose description has, in every particular, been vividly rendered by the painter.

Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, like the *Punishment of Elymas*, shows us Christianity bursting through the bonds of pagan civilization.

In the *Sacrifice of Lystra*, Raphael has restored the architectural splendour of Greek civilization, its exquisite statues and pompous religious rites, as well as its passionate worship of the beautiful.

ARMS OF LEO X.

(From the borders of the Tapestries.)

The *Paul in Prison*, also called the *Earthquake*, is, like the *St. Stephen* and the *Conversion of St. Paul*, one of those compositions which, being confided in great part to pupils, were foredoomed to comparative failure.

The simplicity of the idea has not hindered Raphael, in the *Paul Preaching at Athens*, from giving us a picture as full of life and truth as the *Sacrifice*, though with less action. This famous work does not contain a line which fails to add to our comprehension of St. Luke's words.

The borders of these *Acts of the Apostles* do not fall short of the arabesques in the Loggie themselves. We have no hesitation in attributing the design of many of them, such as the *Fates*, to Raphael himself. In others, his pupils, Giovanni da Udine and Francesco Penni, stimulated by the example of their master, have surpassed

themselves. Raphael was one of the first artists to give surroundings worthy of themselves to cartoons for decorative purposes. For the inevitable garland of fruit and flowers, so long affected by the Flemings, he substituted borders, upon which he lavished all the wealth of his imagination.

The *Coronation of the Virgin*, which is generally regarded as a sequel to the *Acts of the Apostles*, was looked upon as lost until M. Paliard had the good fortune to discover it in the Vatican. Raphael made a sketch for it, which is now preserved in the gallery at Oxford (facsimile on page 178). Death interrupted him before he began the cartoon for this, and it was beyond doubt left to his scholars. The death of the Pope, which took place eighteen months later, occasioned

THE GONFALONIER RIDOLFI ADDRESSING THE FLORENTINES.
(From the borders of the Tapestries.)

a fresh interruption; and the cartoon remained unused until the Cardinal de la Marck, wishing to pay court to Paul III., gave the order for the tapestry.

The *Coronation of the Virgin* contains thirteen figures. At the top is God the Father surrounded by four cherubim; in the centre, a dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit; lower still, the Virgin and Christ between two angels; lowest of all, two more angels with St. John and St. Jerome. The borders show flowers, fruits, birds, and sirens upon a gold ground. They were evidently from Flemish designs.

The success of the *Acts of the Apostles* decided Leo to order from Raphael cartoons for another set of tapestries, representing scenes from the *Life and Death of our Lord*. Authentic documents exist which show that Leo X. intended this second series, known as the *Arazzi della Scuola Nuova*, for the hall where the papal consistories were held. They were twelve in number, and were paid for by the

Pope himself. The subjects were—the *Nativity*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Massacre of the Innocents* (three pieces), the *Descent into Hell*, the *Resurrection*, "*Noli me Tangere*," the *Supper at Emmaus*, the *Ascension*, the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*.

CARDINAL GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI AT THE BATTLE OF RAVENNA.
(From the borders of the Tapestries.)

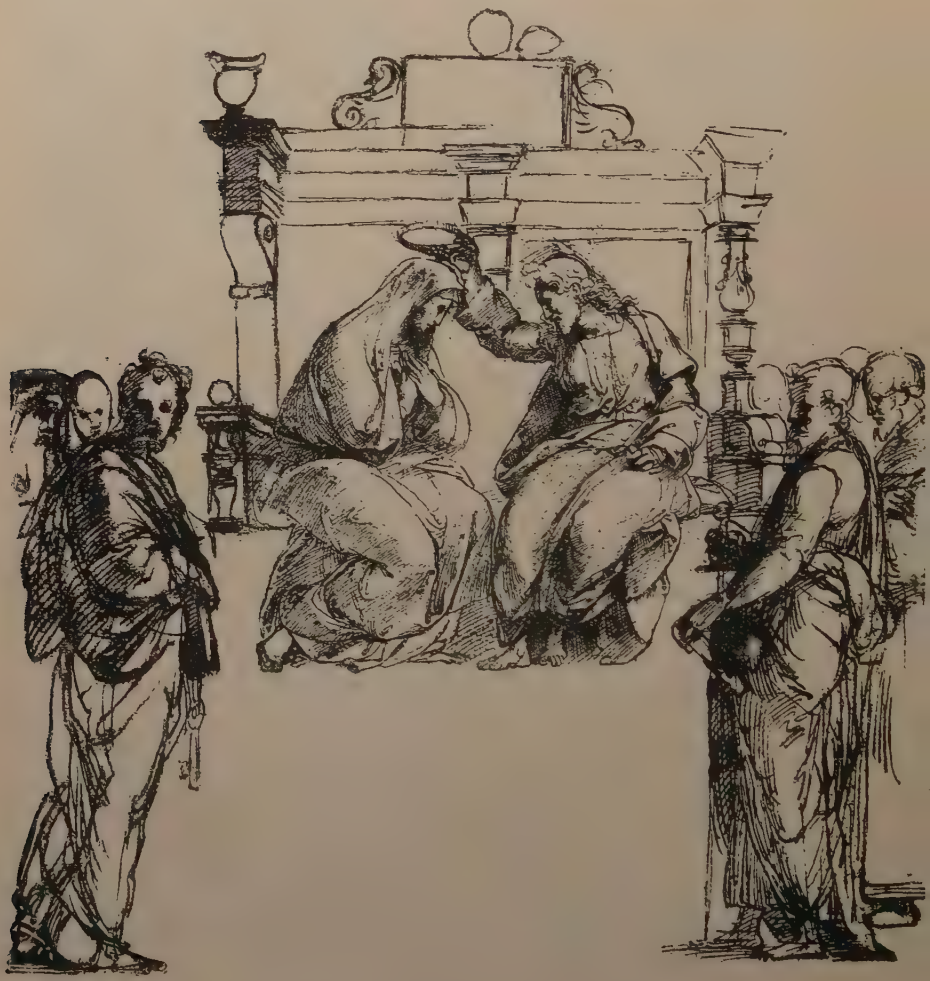
Raphael began the preparatory sketches for these *Scenes from the Life of Christ* in the very last years of his life. Numerous studies, widely dispersed, show the part which he took in their preparation,

ENTRY OF CARDINAL GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI INTO FLORENCE.
(From the borders of the Tapestries.)

but he died before he could bring the work near completion, perhaps even before he had time to execute a single cartoon. The work thus interrupted was continued by his pupils, but for some of the scenes

he had not left the slightest sketch, and his successors were obliged to supply much from their own imagination.

Yet another set of tapestries is generally attributed to Raphael, that, we mean, which goes by the name of the *Giuochi di putti*, or



STUDY FOR THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
(Oxford University Gallery.)

Loves Playing. Vasari however attributes this series, which was commissioned by Leo X., to Giovanni da Udine.

Raphael's talent as a designer was not confined to tapestries. Goldsmith's work, wood-carving, marquetry, mosaics, were all indebted

to him in turn. He even painted scenes for the theatre with his own hand.

The designs for the plates which he made for Agostino Chigi were carried out in bronze by Cesarino Rossetti, a goldsmith of Perugia. One of these designs is preserved in the University Gallery at Oxford;

DESIGN FOR A BRONZE DISH.
(Dresden Gallery.)

another, which we reproduce, is in the Dresden Gallery. On a careful examination of the latter, which represents the gambols of marine deities with curious fancy and freedom, and is, at the same time, a wonder of balanced composition, I have been brought to the conclusion that, after having sketched it in red chalk, traces of which are

still here and there apparent, Raphael made one of his scholars go over it with the pen, last of all retouching it himself. *Pentimenti* are notably visible in the heads. These are in a darker ink than that originally used. This explains a certain cold emptiness in some parts of the design.

At about the same date, Raphael furnished Fra Giovanni with the designs for the woodwork in the *Camera della Segnatura*, and a few years later, in the time of Leo X., he did a similar service for Giovanni Barile, of Siena. Much of Barile's work is still in place. Next came the execution of the mosaics in the Chigi Chapel.

The engraving by Marc-Antonio which we reproduce shows us a perfume box in the form of a vase, which, if we may judge from the *fleurs-de-lys* and salamanders upon it, must have been designed for Francis I. It was meant, in all probability, to be of very small dimensions, yet the design has been so carefully thought out and prepared, that it would serve for the execution of a work of monumental size.

CHAPTER XVII

Next to the Pope, Raphael's greatest admirer was Agostino Chigi, and the commissions he gave Sanzio are so numerous and important that they merit special study. Chigi's principal undertaking, the building of his villa in the Trastevere, was commenced shortly after Raphael's arrival in Rome, but the completion of the work occupied several years, and it was not until 1511-1512 that the villa was thrown open to the admiring Romans. Its decoration was a marvel; Agostino's descendant, Fabio Chigi (Alexander VII.), mentions, among other things, a bed ornamented with gold, silver, ivory, and precious stones, and Cugnoni estimates the cost of covering the furniture of the magnificent apartment in which it was placed, at no less than 1592 ducats. Costly tapestries alternated with vases and silver fountains. The harness of the hundred horses which filled the famous *Stalle Chigiane* was of gold and silver, and their housings of silk. Chigi loved everything that could help to embellish his existence or augment his reputation; poets, musicians, architects, painters, sculptors, found in him an ardent protector, and so far as contemporary art was concerned, he quickly learnt to distinguish the really eminent masters from the crowd of mediocrities which besieged his palace. He took up the cause of Raphael against that of Michael

DESIGN FOR A PERFUME VASE.

(Facsimile of Marc-Antonio's Engraving.)

Angelo, never giving a commission of any kind, after the commencement of hostilities, either to the great Florentine or to his *protégé*, Sebastiano Luciani, better known as Sebastiano del Piombo.

Agostino Chigi exercised great influence over the development of art in Rome. His name is indissolubly connected with that of Raphael. The disciples of the master too, Giulio Romano, il Fattore, Giovanni da Udine, Lorenzetto, were reckoned among his friends. Raphael's connection with Chigi began soon after the painter's arrival in Rome. In 1510 he made the designs for two dishes which the goldsmith, Cesarino di Francesco of Perugia, was employed to cast in bronze. But the first important work he carried through was the *Galatea*, which was painted in fresco in one of the saloons of the banker's new villa. Its approximate date is furnished by the celebrated letter which the painter addressed to Baldassare Castiglione shortly after his nomination to the post of architect-in-chief to St. Peter's, or about the middle of the year 1514. Raphael thanks his friend for the praises which he lavished upon his work. "As for the *Galatea*," he writes, "I should look upon myself as a great master if it contained half the qualities which your lordship has discovered in it. But your words are dictated by the affection which you bear to me. I would add that, in order to paint a beautiful woman, one must see many of them, and must have such a judge as your lordship by one to help to choose the most perfect. But seeing how rare both good judges and fair women are, I myself turn to an ideal which I am able to create in my imagination. Whether or no that ideal have any value from an artistic point of view, is what I do not yet know, although I am forced to use it." The terms of this letter show that the work in question must have been produced not very long before it was written. It may have been executed in the last months of 1513 or the first of 1514.

Chigi was so enamoured of the Renaissance as to desire that souvenirs of classical antiquity should be associated even with works intended to bear witness of his devotion. At Santa Maria della Pace he had the *Sibyls* painted in company with the *Prophets;* and the former alone were from the actual hand of Raphael, the execution of the *Prophets* being entrusted to Timoteo Viti. At Santa Maria del Popolo an opportunity was made, in representing the *Planets*, to celebrate the chief deities of Olympus.

The *Sibyls* were probably painted in 1514. Raphael, who had just completed the Chamber of Heliodorus, profited by his leisure and by the presence of his friend Timoteo Viti to perform the task. An author of the seventeenth century, Cinelli, recounts an anecdote *à*

propos of these *Sibyls* and *Prophets*, which is too much to the honour of the painter, of his patron, and of his greatest rival, to be passed

STUDY FOR THE PHRYGIAN SIBYL.

(University Galleries, Oxford.)

over. Raphael had received 500 ducats on account during the progress of the work, and when he claimed the balance which he

considered to be due from the cashier of Chigi, the latter expressed astonishment at the demand, and, upon the suggestion of Raphael that he should choose an expert to arbitrate between them, named Michael Angelo, the acknowledged rival of him whose remuneration was in question. The Florentine betook himself to the Pace in company with the cashier, and decided that each head alone was worth 100 ducats. As soon as Chigi heard this decision he ordered 400 ducats to be paid immediately to Raphael, in addition to the 500 already received. "Be courteous to him," he said to the cashier, "so that he may be satisfied. I should be ruined if he made me pay for the draperies."

THE SIBYLS IN S. MARIA DELLA PACE.

Vasari considered the *Sibyls* Raphael's masterpiece. "These are," he said, "the most beautiful figures ever painted by the master." In nobility and grace the three youngest are on a level with the muses of the *Parnassus*, while the aged *Tiburtina* has a majesty which is almost terrible. In creating her, Raphael came nearer to the *Sibyls* of his great rival than in any of the others. But he did not copy them; both types and attitudes were characteristic of no man but himself.

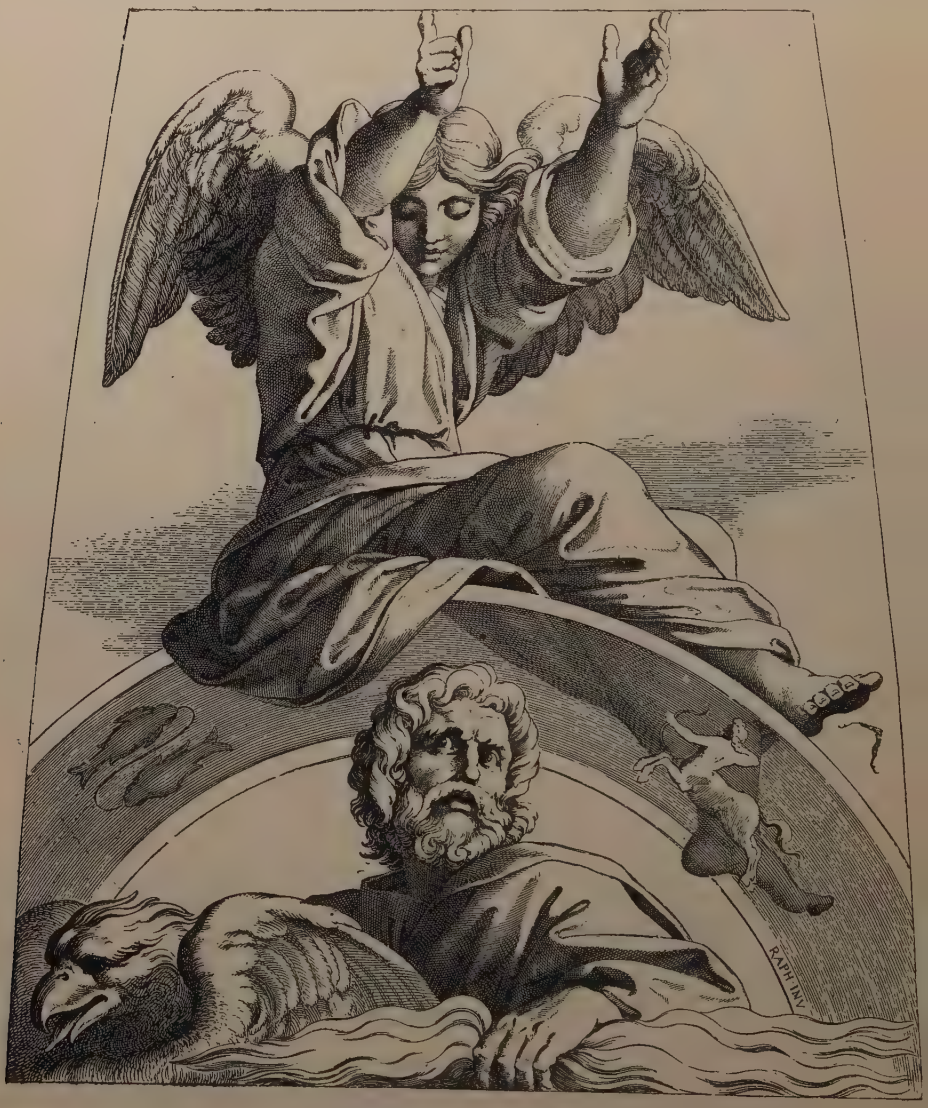
Chigi was the only one among all the friends and patrons of Raphael who could boast of having profited by his genius in all three of the allied arts, architecture, painting, and sculpture. Raphael drew the plans of the chapel in which Chigi was afterwards buried in Santa Maria del Popolo, and directed the carrying out of the works.

This was done, perhaps, as early as the reign of Julius II. Next he made the cartoons for the mosaics in the dome, and, finally, he modelled the statue of *Jonas*, which his pupil Lorenzetto executed in marble.

THE DOME OF THE CHIGI CHAPEL.

Raphael, influenced by the epic grandeur of Buonarroti's paintings in the Sistine, seems to have wished to give to the chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo a scheme of decoration which might also awake sublime thoughts in the minds of those who beheld it. If we may judge from the pictures executed after his death, according, pro-

bably, to the scheme elaborated by himself and Chigi, he chose the figure of God the Father to fill the apex of the dome; for its lower



THE PLANET JUPITER.

segments, the *Creation of the Planets*, below which were to come great events of Genesis up to the Fall of Man; finally, upon the lower walls, the *Birth*, *Death*, and *Resurrection of Christ*, that is to say, the

fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies. *God the Father* and the eight pictures of the *Creation of the Planets* were alone carried to completion.

STUDY FOR ONE OF THE ANGELS IN THE CHIGI CHAPEL.

(University Galleries, Oxford.)

Raphael's compositions were rendered in mosaic by Luigi, or Aloisio, di Pace, whom Chigi had brought from Venice, the great centre of that particular industry.

In the year 1500 Beroaldus the younger published a translation

of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, in which he called the attention of scholars to the beautiful myth contained in the work of the Latin author, and there is no doubt whatever that from his translation

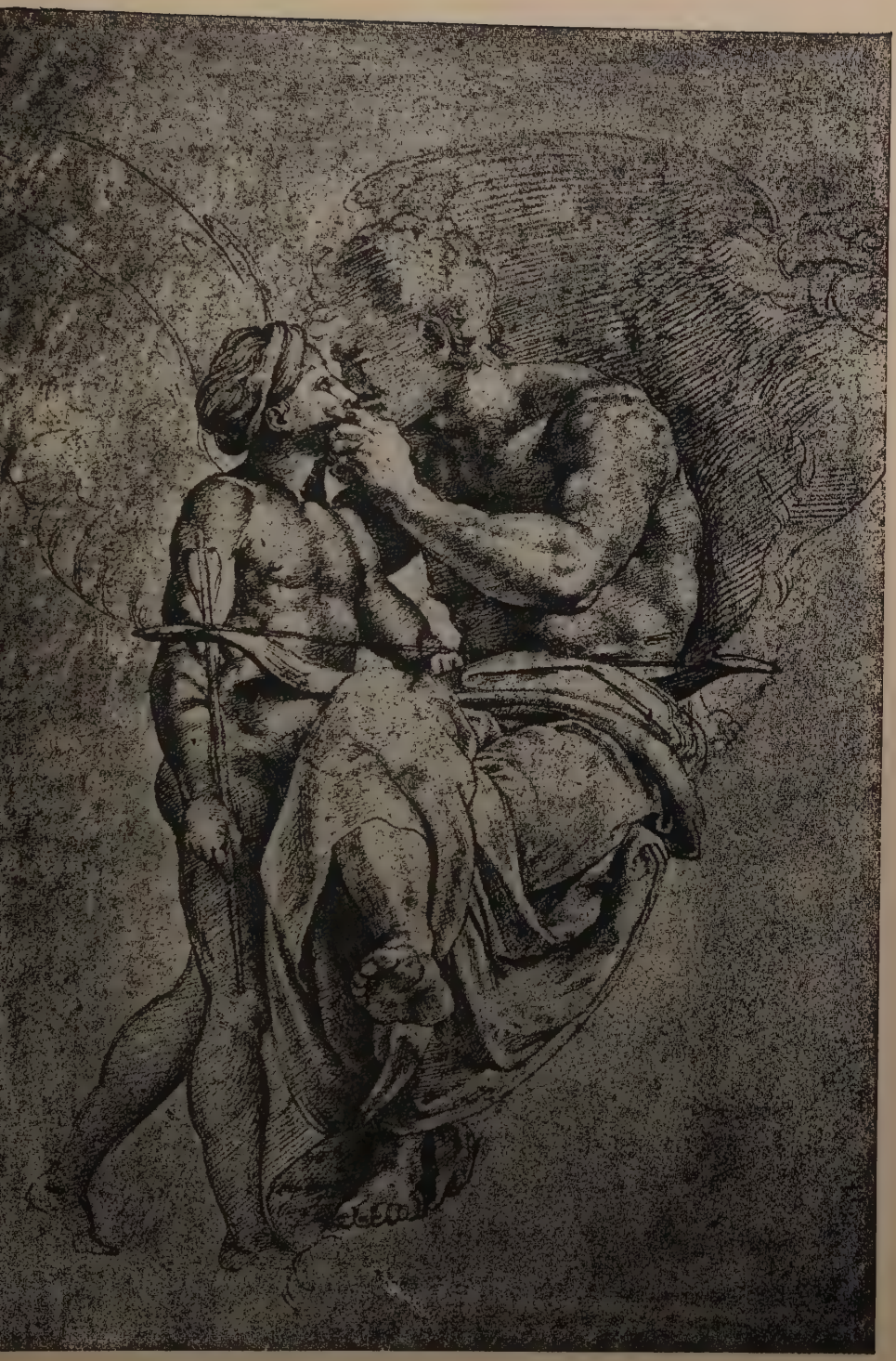
LOVE AND THE BIRDS.

Raphael obtained materials for the vast painted poem with which he adorned the loggia of Chigi's villa. Only one of the ten frescoes for which he chose subjects reveals the hand of Raphael himself.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE number of religious pictures executed in Raphael's studio after the accession of Leo X. was so large, that it would be difficult to make a complete catalogue of them in the space at our disposal. We need only state that if the mind of the master is recognized in the beauty of their composition, the execution betrays but too often the hand of a pupil. Among such pictures are the *Madonna dell' Impannata*, painted for Bindo Altoviti, now in the Pitti Palace; the *Madonna della Tenda*, in the Munich Gallery; the *Holy Family under the Oak*, at Madrid; the *Madonna with the Rose*, in the same collection; the *Madonna of the Candelabra*, in the Munro collection in London; and the small *Holy Family* in the Louvre, also known as the *Virgin with the Cradle*.

The subjects painted by Raphael during this new period show a profound change. Either of his own free will, or at the instance of his patrons, the artist almost entirely abandoned the simplicity of



JUPITER AND LOVE.
(Louvre.)

composition, which was at first so dear to him. The two traditional figures of the Mother and Son no longer sufficed. He was contented with them, indeed, in the *Madonna of the Bridgewater Gallery* and in the *Madonna of the Candelabra*, but he added the infant St. John

THE MADONNA DELLA SEDIA.
(Pitti Palace.)

in many others. Even this addition at last failed to satisfy him, and henceforward he depicted the Virgin in the midst of the *Holy Family*, or as a *Virgin Glorified*. While in Rome, Raphael painted not less than a dozen Holy Families, nearly all of monumental dimensions.

The supernatural element—almost entirely excluded from the compositions of the Florentine period—reasserts itself in the religious painting of the years 1513—1520. After 1513 the scene of his most important compositions is laid in the celestial regions peopled by the blessed. The *Ezekiel*, the *Madonna di San Sisto*, the *St. Michael*, the *St. Cecilia*, the *St. Margaret*, the *Five Saints*, and the *Transfiguration* are all visions.

The Holy Family in the Madrid Museum, which by its beauty has well deserved its title of the *Pearl*, recalls the most graceful of the Florentine idylls; but the Roman influence reasserts itself fully in the faces of St. Anne and the Virgin. In spite of the affection they display towards each other and for the Child, they are possessed by a gravity and an exaltation which would in vain be sought in the compositions of a previous period.

When Raphael was working on this picture, he seems to have allowed himself no rest in his attempts to emulate the achievements of the Flemish painters. We have already noticed him, in the *Deliverance of St. Peter*, attempting to portray the most complicated effects of light. There is a similar attempt in the *Madonna dell' Impannata* of the Pitti Palace, and in the *Pearl* he produced a splendid effect of dawn, which enraptured Vasari, and proves that Raphael, who placed his reputation as a technical painter above everything, would not allow any secret or any refinement of the colourist to escape him.

In the picture at the Louvre, known as the *Holy Family of Francis I.*, Mary is again represented rather as a mother than as Queen of Heaven. Thus the sentiments which guided Raphael in the prime of his youth, during the fruitful period between 1504 and 1508, appear again, but in a more elevated form, in this Holy Family, the last, apparently, which he painted (the date is 1518).

Raphael was now at the zenith of his glory. He had founded a powerful school; students from every country accepted his advice as that of an oracle; sovereigns contended for the slightest productions of his brush. Yet we find him as careful in his designs as ever. His studies for the *Holy Family of Francis I.* are a proof of this. The process, indeed, has changed: at first the artist's timid and tentative sketches were done in silver-point; then came the period of those exact and vigorous drawings in pen-and-ink, of which the studies for *La Belle Jardinière*, the *Entombment*, and so many other inimitable works, are happily still preserved. After his arrival in Rome he found this method too slow, and made use of red chalk, which allowed him to give importance to his leading lines at the

expense of detail. Thenceforward he preferred this material for studies of single figures, reserving colour-washes for those of groups. Sometimes, as in the fine portrait of Timoteo Viti, he had recourse to Italian chalk.

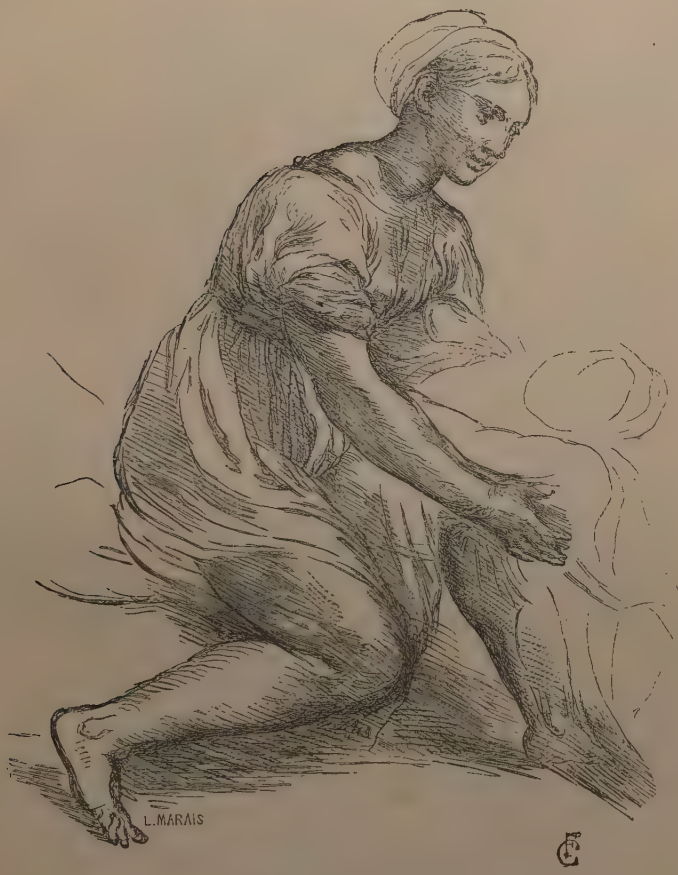
HOLY FAMILY OF FRANCIS I.
(Louvre.)

The *Madonna di San Sisto*, the gem of the Dresden Gallery, has been long called the latest of Raphael's Madonnas. But recent criticism has done much to cast doubt upon its reputed date.

It was painted for the convent of San Sisto at Piacenza; was

acquired by the Elector Augustus III. of Saxony, in 1753, for 60,000 thalers (about £9000), and has ever since been the chief ornament of the Dresden Gallery.

The *Transfiguration* and the *Resurrection* should complete this series of religious triumphs, but we must first describe a drawing



STUDY FOR THE HOLY FAMILY OF FRANCIS I.

(Uffizi.)

and a picture which, though illustrating the life of Christ, are conceived in a far different spirit. We refer to the *Pieta* in the Louvre, and the *Spasimo di Sicilia.*

Christ bearing His Cross, or *Spasimo di Sicilia,* is a fit companion for the *Entombment;* the spirit in which it is conceived is the same. But the *Spasimo* is much the more pathetic of the two. The

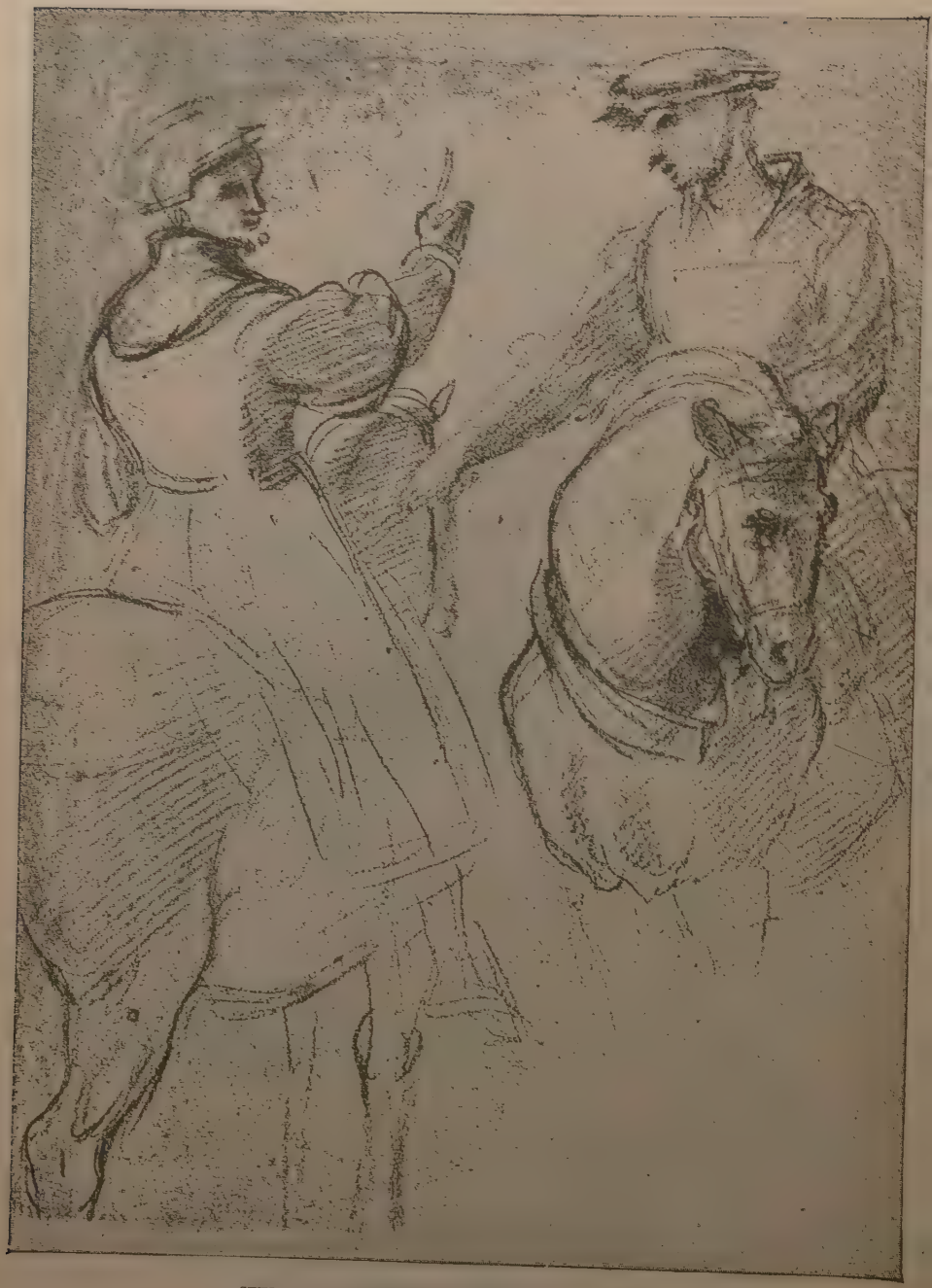
artist has chosen the moment when Christ is sinking beneath His burden, and the Virgin, overcome with grief, helplessly stretches out her arms to her Son. The expression of these two faces is admirable.

The *Spasimo* owes as much of its celebrity to the vicissitudes through which it has passed as to its artistic merit. Vasari relates

STUDY OF THE HOLY FAMILY OF FRANCIS I.
(Uffizi.)

these with much picturesqueness; "Raphael," he says, "executed for the monastery of Santa-Maria-della-Spasimo at Palermo, a *Christ bearing the Cross* which is reputed a masterpiece. When completed it experienced the greatest dangers before arriving at its destination.

THE VISION OF EZEKIEL.
(Pitti Palace.)



STUDY FOR HORSEMEN IN THE SPASIMO DI SICILIA.

(Albertina Collection.)

It is related that the ship which should have carried it to Palermo encountered a terrible tempest and broke up after striking on a rock: everything perished, men and cargo alike: nothing but this picture escaped. Carried by the billows into the Gulf of Genoa, the case containing it was found and brought to land; then, this divine work was discovered intact, free from the slightest stain or blemish. It seemed as if winds and waves had determined to respect its beauty. The noise of this event spread far and wide, and the monks, hearing of it, endeavoured to gain possession of their picture, which was restored to them through the intervention of the Pope, when they liberally remunerated the salvors. Again placed on board ship, and carried to Sicily, the picture was set up at Palermo, where it became more famous than the mountain of Vulcan."

In the seventeenth century, Philip IV. had the *Spasimo* secretly taken down in order to carry it to Madrid. He ensured the silence of the monks by granting them a revenue of 1000 scudi. Ever since then the picture has formed a part of the royal collections of Spain, only leaving that country in the time of Napoleon to figure for a time at the Louvre, in company with many other *chefs-d'œuvre*.

The simplicity of the Louvre *Pieta* contrasts strongly with the complex *mise-en-scène* of the *Spasimo*. With two figures only—the Virgin standing by her dead Son and weeping bitter tears—Raphael has composed the most touching of dramas.

After the glorification of the Virgin comes that of the Saints. The *St. Cecilia* is the most celebrated of these paintings. It contains two parts, the one celestial, the other terrestrial. In the sky, six angels, resting upon the clouds, are discoursing divine music. On the earth four saints stand round St. Cecilia, and listen with rapture. Cecilia herself, with eyes uplifted, appears to be in an ecstasy; she has dropped the violin, the triangle, the cymbals; even the organ is slipping from her hands. St. Paul forgets all else in the enjoyment of the divine melody; with downcast eyes, and his chin resting on his right hand, the left placed negligently on his sword, the fiery apostle of the Gentiles is lost in profound reverie.

The origin and destination of the *St. Cecilia* explain this outburst of mysticism. In October of the year 1513 a noble lady of Bologna, by name Elena Duglioli dall' Olio, imagined that she heard supernatural voices enjoining her to dedicate a chapel to St. Cecilia in the church of San Giovanni del Monte. She confided this to Antonio Pucci of Florence, one of her relatives, who offered to fit up the chapel at his own expense, and begged his uncle Lorenzo Pucci, the new cardinal, to order from Raphael a picture for the altar.

ST. CECILIA.

(Gallery of Bologna.)

ST. CECILIA.

Although commissioned towards the end of 1513, the *St. Cecilia* was only finished in 1516. For its completion, Raphael called in the aid of his pupil Giovanni da Udine, who painted the musical instruments scattered on the ground. The engraver, Boucher-Desnoyers, has put on record certain notable peculiarities in the technical execution of the work. "I examined the back of the *St. Cecilia* while the picture was being transferred to canvas, and I saw that the outlines had been traced with a certainty and celerity not to be gained without the help of a preliminary cartoon. The drawing was done with a full brush of umber, as in the case of the *Foligno Madonna*." The master, who had never ceased to maintain the most cordial relations with Francia, naturally thought of him when the time came for sending the painting to Bologna and installing it in the chapel. He wrote begging him to retouch the picture if he found any defect in it, or if it had suffered in the transit, and asked him to superintend the construction of the frame. Vasari says that Francia felt such acute pain and profound discouragement at the sight of Sanzio's *chef-d'œuvre*, that it caused his death. One can understand that the old painter was much struck by the picture, and that it made him feel the inferiority of his own art; yet it is impossible to believe that his death was brought about in this way, as he was sixty-seven when he died on January 5, 1517.

To complete our list of the principal works of this period, we have now only to review the portraits. Precision, natural simplicity of attitude, vitality, and subtlety of psychological analysis, are all found in them in the highest degree, nor can we place before him any but the greatest masters of portraiture. Long study, combined with a quick eye, enabled him to detect in each subject, through all apparent contradictions, the characteristic expression by which he could raise the individual to the level of a type. "Raphael," wrote Bembo to Bibbiena, "has painted a portrait of our Tebaldeo, which is so natural that it seems more like him than he is himself."

Raphael painted from twelve to fifteen portraits during the reign of Leo X. The Pope, his brother Giuliano, and his nephew Lorenzo, Inghirami, Bibbiena, Castiglione, Tebaldeo, Beazzano, Navagero, Timoteo Viti, *The Young Man of the Louvre*, the Violinist, and lastly, Joanna of Aragon, all sat to him. Several of these portraits have been lost.

Baldassare Castiglione sat twice to Raphael. The first of the portraits, executed about 1516, and now in the Louvre, is too well known to need description. The second seems to be the picture in the Torlonia Gallery at Rome.

To this same period belongs the fine portrait of a cardinal, now in the Madrid Museum. Until recently this was supposed to be a portrait of Bibbiena, and the Pitti picture a copy from it. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle were the first to point out that the portraits represent two totally different persons, the similarity of pose having given rise to the mistake.

The portrait of Timoteo Viti, in the British Museum, is a study, but it is almost as attractive as a finished picture. Its attribution to Raphael is by no means universally accepted.

The portrait of Joanna of Aragon was a commission from Bibbiena, who intended it for Francis I., at whose court he had fulfilled an important mission. Raphael being unable to go to Naples, where the princess then was, sent one of his "garzoni," doubtless Giulio Romano, to make a study for the portrait itself. The picture went to Paris in 1518. The *Violinist* at the Sciarra-Colonna Palace is dated 1518. In beauty of colour it rivals the most brilliant productions of the Venetian School.

To these unquestionably authentic works must be added, according to Passavant, Mündler, Springer, Morelli, and Sidney Colvin, a portrait in the Pitti Palace, known under the name of the *Donna Velata* or the *Veiled Woman*. The features of this girl, who is believed to be Raphael's famous mistress, bear a certain resemblance to the *Madonna di San Sisto*.

In the last work of his life, Raphael takes us back to the history of Christ. The origin of the *Transfiguration* is well known. Wishing to give the town of Narbonne, of which Francis I. had made him bishop, a token of his piety and munificence, Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici ordered in 1517 two altar-pieces for the cathedral of that ancient Gallic city. One he intrusted to Raphael, the other to Sebastiano del Piombo. The picture ordered from Sebastiano was to represent the *Raising of Lazarus*. Raphael had in the first instance chosen as the subject of his altar-piece the *Resurrection of Christ;* it was an afterthought to substitute the *Transfiguration*.

Raphael's *Transfiguration* resembles none of those which preceded it, yet the artist availed himself of the most natural and legitimate means possible in giving a true life to the subject. He simply re-read the text of St. Matthew's Gospel, where he describes the miracle on Mount Tabor, and shows us a father leading to Jesus the son whom the disciples had been unable to heal.

It is clear that in supposing the child to have been seized with a fit during the actual moment of the *Transfiguration*, Raphael was only interpreting literally the text of St. Matthew. He has, however,

been reproached with representing two different subjects in the same painting, and consequently with having violated the unities. Nothing

PORTRAIT OF JOANNA OF ARAGON.
(Louvre.)

could be more baseless than such a charge. The gesture of the apostle, who stands upright on the left side of the picture, would in

PORTRAIT OF BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE.

(Louvre.)

itself suffice to establish the necessary unity of action; he points with his finger to the mountain, over which float the figures of Jesus, Moses, and Elias, and he tells the relatives of the possessed whence help for him must come.

The contrast which is so remarkable between the composition of these two scenes, is also found in their technical execution. In the upper division Raphael has realized an effect of light and shade worthy of Correggio; never was his brush more bold or more harmonious. In the lower, on the contrary, grouping and colouring are harsh and violent.

Raphael died before the *Transfiguration* had left his studio. Vasari relates how his last masterpiece was placed beside his bed, and how those present wept at the sight of his corpse beside a work so full of life. According to Passavant, Giulio Romano must have put the finishing touches to it, which would account for the harshness of the lower portion. The learned German grounds his opinion on a letter of Castiglione, who, in 1522, begged of Cardinal de' Medici the payment to his friend of a certain sum still due on the price of the picture. It is known that Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni had been charged by Raphael with the completion of such works as he might leave unfinished. As Giulio was the only recipient of the sum claimed by Castiglione, it is probable that he completed the painting. We learn by the same letter that the *Transfiguration* cost 655 ducats.

The death of Raphael decided Cardinal de' Medici to send only Sebastiano's *Resurrection of Lazarus* to Narbonne, and to keep the *Transfiguration* in Rome. After causing Penni to make a copy of it, he presented Raphael's masterpiece to the Church of San-Pietro in Montorio, where it remained till the French Revolution. After visiting Paris in the train of Napoleon, it was restored to the Holy See in 1815, and since that time has been the pride of the Vatican Pinacoteca.

CHAPTER XIX

Although the painter in Raphael eclipses the architect, we must not forget that he was a great builder. He may be allowed a place among the masters of that art-science, not only on account of the greatness of the works which were confided to him,—the continuation of St. Peter's, the completion of the Loggie, the construction of the Villa Madama and of so many other edifices,—but because of the

remarkable taste which he displayed in all these undertakings. It is true that his architectural talents were developed much later than his skill as a painter, but in the latter years of his life he never hesitated to make painting give way to his new studies.

We have already had occasion to mention the beauty of the building placed in the background of the *Sposalizio*. This building, it must be owned, was inspired by that of Perugino, but Raphael transfigured the original whilst appearing only to copy.

In the *Presentation* the action takes place under a portico, the arrangement of which bears the greatest resemblance to that of Perugino's *Sposalizio* now at Caen. We remark, especially, similar Ionic columns. Raphael contented himself with adding two arcades, and thus increasing the depth of his building. In the *Annunciation*, forming a portion of the same predella, the artist shows us a court surrounded by a loggia of composite columns supporting arches. The perspective is irreproachable.

The examination to which we have submitted these three compositions proves that, from 1504, Raphael knew how to draw and compose plans of edifices, and how to represent them either in section or elevation, in the style of the Umbrian-Florentine school. But years elapsed before he was able to use his knowledge and really execute an architectural work. We may date the nobly-designed monuments of architecture which fill the background of the fine drawing of *Æneas Sylvius at the feet of Eugenius IV.*, a little later.

During his stay in Florence Raphael seems to have abandoned for the time his architectural studies. The *Ripalda Madonna*, the *Ansidei Madonna*, and the *Madonna del Baldacchino* are the only ones in which architectonic motives appear.

In Rome under the auspices of Bramante, Raphael was not long in mastering the practical part of architecture, and in all probability one of his first efforts is to be seen in the small church of St. Aloysius "degli Orefici." The guild of goldsmiths had been reconstituted in 1509 by Julius II., and it was in that year the erection of the church dedicated to their patron was begun. The dome, however, was still unfinished in 1526.

Bramante died on March 11, 1514, but before his death he had time to designate his successor to the Pope, and that successor was no other than Raphael: "as thou not only excellest in the art of painting, as all men agree, but hast also been nominated by Bramante on his death-bed as being skilful in the science of architecture, and fit to continue the erection of that temple to the Prince

of the Apostles which he began." These are the words employed by Leo X. in the Brief in which he appoints Raphael architect-in-chief of St. Peter's. Bramante's recommendation, however, was not judged altogether sufficient. Raphael, provisionally appointed on April 1, 1514, with a salary of 300 golden ducats, was only confirmed in his position on the 1st of August following, after having submitted for approval a model designed by himself and executed in wood by Giovanni Barile.

To make himself worthy of this great trust, the artist gave himself up to the study of Vitruvius. He tells us so himself in his celebrated letter to Castiglione. "His Holiness," he writes, "has, by thus honouring me, laid a great burden upon me—I mean in appointing me to direct the works at St. Peter's. I hope I shall not fail, especially as my model pleases His Holiness, and has obtained the sanction of many competent judges; but I aim higher. I wish to discover the principles of the beautiful forms of the antique. Perhaps my flight will be like that of Icarus. Vitruvius gives me much enlightenment, but not enough."

At this time, probably, Raphael had the Roman author's *Treatise on Architecture* translated, for his personal use, from Latin into Italian, by Fabio Calvo of Ravenna. This translation, as we know, still exists in the Royal Library at Munich. It contains this curious note: "End of the book of Vitruvius the Architect, translated from Latin into the vulgar tongue by Marcus Fabius Calvus da Ravenna at Rome, in the house and at the instigation of Raphael, son of Giovanni Santi da Urbino." [1]

Some years later, one of the secretaries of Leo X., Celio Calcagnini, speaks of Raphael in a way which proves how much the painter-architect had profited by reading Vitruvius: "Raphael is perhaps the first of all painters, in theory as well as in practice, and is, besides, an architect of such rare talent, that he invents and executes things that the most gifted men believe impossible. I only except Vitruvius, whose principles he not only teaches, but sometimes defends and sometimes attacks with unanswerable arguments, and at the same time with so much gentleness, that there is no bitterness in his criticisms."

The impression produced by these studies was so strong, that Raphael, after having applied the precepts of the Roman author to modern constructions, used them to attempt the ideal restoration of ancient Rome. We shall have occasion to study this gigantic project in detail: indeed in the latter years of Raphael's life, it, with

[1] Passavant, *Raphael*, t. i. p. 199.

practical architecture, took up more of his attention than painting itself.

But let us return to St. Peter's. Leo X. determined to give a new impetus to the work, and associated two of the veterans of architecture with Raphael, with similar salaries, viz. Giuliano da San-Gallo and Fra Giocondo, the first seventy years of age, the second between eighty and ninety. In the letter to his uncle Simone (July 1, 1514) Raphael says, "The Pope has given me as assistant a very learned monk, at least eighty years old: as he has not long to live, I must gather as quickly as I can from this man of great reputation and learning any secrets in architecture he may have to impart, and thus arrive at perfection. His name is Fra Giocondo."

Giuliano Leno continued, as in Bramante's time, to superintend the administrative portion of the works; whilst as under-architects, clerks of the works, &c., we find the names of Antonio da San-Gallo, Gian-Francesco da San-Gallo, Rainiero Pisano, Niccolo da Bibbiena, Giovanni Barile, Baldassare da Carrara, Desiderio di Fantellis, Andrea da Milano, &c.

Raphael's two colleagues soon died. Fra Giocondo in July 1515; Giuliano da San-Gallo on October 20 in the following year. Raphael requested the Pope to nominate a successor, and towards the end of the year 1516 he appointed Antonio da San-Gallo the younger, with a smaller salary, however, as he only received twelve ducats and a half a month. Raphael had accepted with a light heart the position of successor to Bramante. All through the years 1514-1515 there was no interruption in his work, no sign of relaxation. In the letter addressed to his uncle Simone on July 1, 1514, he gives full expression to his enthusiasm: "What undertaking," he writes, "could be nobler than that of St. Peter's, the greatest temple in the world! It is the grandest building ever seen; it will cost more than a million ducats in gold. . . . The Pope sends for us every day and discusses the designs for some time."

The ardour with which Raphael discharged his new duties did not diminish as the years went by. A letter from the envoy of the Duke of Ferrara (December 17, 1519) shows him but a few months before his death occupied with the smallest details of the work: "The commission relative to Raphael da Urbino still remains to be done; but I will carry it through, and will again attempt to conquer him by gentleness, for men who are intellectually superior are always inclined to certain susceptibilities. Raphael suffers greatly from the effects of discouragement (melancholia) since he took up this architectural

business after Bramante's death. He is always discussing the practice of the art with Giuliano Leno. I found him this morning having just prepared two pillars that the Pope has ordered, to strengthen the first pier in the 'Via dei Svizzeri,' which has been threatening to give way. On asking to see him he begged me to wait until he had spoken to some of the chief masters, and said that he would then receive me if I would come and see him. I will try all ways of managing him, and will tell him what happened to me at his house the other day, and if he persists in putting me off with fair words, I will tell him what your Excellency writes, and will then communicate the result to you."

The progress of St. Peter's was unfortunately not in proportion to the great efforts made by the young architect-in-chief. He was obliged, first of all, as we see, to give it adequate strength—an ungrateful task, which took several years to accomplish. Then came want of funds; indeed, when Raphael died, the works had hardly made visible progress since the death of Bramante. Bramante, we now know without a doubt, had adopted for St. Peter's the form of the Greek cross. Under Leo X., probably at the instance of the priesthood, the Latin cross was adopted. A coin struck in the reign of this Pope shows us on one side the temple as Bramante designed it; on the other, the new design, *i.e.* that of the Latin cross.

To make St. Peter's into a Latin cross Raphael had recourse to a measure adopted later by Maderno. He added several bays to the nave. But whilst the architect of the seventeenth century contented himself with three new arches, Raphael proposed to have four: this would have been quite destructive of the splendid edifice imagined by Bramante, and as Antonio da San-Gallo resisted the idea with considerable violence, it was happily not adopted. In fact, the part borne by Raphael in the rebuilding of St. Peter's consists only of a few unimportant changes.

The completion of the Loggie and the continuation of St. Peter's were the principal works confided by the Pope to Raphael. That part of the Apostolic Palace in which the Loggie are situated had been begun by Bramante under Julius II. We find a suggestion of the Loggie with the same number of arcades as now exist in a plan of the Vatican designed in 1503 or 1504 by Raphael's predecessor. Raphael apparently only added the third storey, solely supported by columns. Bramante's plan having only been intended for two storeys, the master had not thought it necessary to inclose the arcades of the ground-floor. The addition of a third storey must necessarily, therefore, have had the effect of overloading the foundations and endanger-

ing the stability of the edifice, as the event proved. The walls cracked seriously the very night Raphael died, and for a while it was feared the whole edifice would give way. Antonio da San-Gallo averted the danger by filling up the arches of the ground floor, leaving only the small windows, which exist to this day. Thanks to this explanation, we are at last enabled to understand the passage in which Vasari tells us that Raphael, to please certain persons, left "holes in the foundations of the Loggie." Leo X. was so pleased

THE PIAZZA DELL' AQUILA.

(Facsimile of an old Engraving.)

with Raphael's work that he gave him the directorship of all the architectural and artistic departments of the Vatican.

Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici also appointed Raphael his architect. He asked him to make designs for the villa which he proposed to build on Monte Mario, at the gates of Rome. The works seem to have been begun during Raphael's lifetime, but he was not allowed to behold the accomplishment of this undertaking.

Among the edifices which Raphael erected for private patrons during the reign of Leo X., we must call attention to the Chigi Stables, "Stalle Chigiane." This building, which in its magnificence rivalled many a palace, was begun in 1514. Another friend of Raphael's, Giovanni Battista Branconio dell' Aquila, drew upon his

STATUE OF JONAH.
(Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.)

genius as an architect for the erection of a palace in the Borgo-Nuovo; it was destroyed in the seventeenth century, at the same time as the palace which Raphael had purchased.

The Coltrolini-Caffarelli-Stoppani-Vidoni Palace is still standing, and so is the house built by Raphael for Leo X.'s doctor, Jacopo da

Brescia. Florence also possesses a palace by Raphael, the finest he ever conceived, and, we may add, one of the finest of the whole Renaissance period. We allude to that which the Bishop of Troja, Giannozzo Pandolfino, an intimate friend of the artist, caused him to build in the Via San-Gallo.

Towards the end of his life, carried away by a positive fever for work, and perhaps jealous of the accumulating laurels of Michael Angelo, Raphael tried his hand at sculpture. The excitement in the camp of Michael Angelo was great when they learnt this. The saddler, Leonardo di Compagnano, immediately let the master, who was then at Carrara, know. "Raphael," he writes, under date of November 16, 1516, "has made a model in clay of a child for Piero d'Ancona, and the latter has almost finished putting it into marble. They say it is a very good work. Be warned!" Some time passes before we again hear of this statue. Raphael had been dead more than three years when Castiglione, in a letter addressed to Andrea Piperario, one of his compatriots settled in Rome, charges him to ask Giulio Romano whether Raphael's marble statue of the child still exists, and at what price it could be bought. We do not know that the bargain was ever concluded. It is certain, however, that the following year, when Giulio Romano left for Mantua, he deposited with his brother in Rome, for safe keeping, the statue of a child in clay—probably the sketch-model of Raphael's statue.

Vasari speaks of two other pieces of sculpture to which he appends Raphael's name, but as in the case of the Jonah, the master only furnished a sketch, or perhaps a small model. A small terra-cotta in the South Kensington Museum is supposed to have been the model of the Jonah.

CHAPTER XX

BEFORE his journey to Rome in 1508, Raphael had made no study of the masterpieces of ancient art. At Rome he became a passionate admirer of the heroes of paganism, and from thenceforward classic antiquity had no more ardent champion. At Rome, too, he was able for the first time to study ancient painting. In the sixteenth century many monuments still preserved their primitive decoration, and they, together with the fragments of fresco that excavations were continually revealing, gave opportunities which do not now exist for the study of antique work in colour. No one thought of collecting

and preserving those precious specimens, but artists eagerly studied them. Among the works of Raphael there are many which cannot be explained by the influence of ancient sculpture alone. He must certainly have borrowed more liberally from his predecessors, the painters of old Rome, than has been hitherto imagined.

In 1509, vestiges of frescoes were still to be seen in the baths and gardens of Sallust and Titus; in the ruins on the Quirinal, and in those close to San Pietro in Vincoli. Inghirami's villa on the Palatine contained several ancient walls entirely covered with frescoes. Albertini also mentions a tomb in the Via Salaria ornamented with figures of Ceres and Bacchus, as well as vases and vine-leaves. Raphael himself, in his reports to Leo X., speaks of the paintings in the Baths of Diocletian, which he compares to the contemporary works in those of Trajan and Titus. We know how he made use of the charming decorations discovered at this time in the latter, and Tivoli also furnished him with designs. The study of ancient mosaics, of which Rome and the country around, notably Palestrina, possessed such considerable remains, completed Raphael's knowledge of ancient painting.

At this time Rome contained two museums, that of the Vatican, the *Antiquarium*, as it was called, and that of the Capitol. The first could boast, as yet, but a few monuments, but they were all masterpieces: the Apollo Belvedere, the Laocoön, the Torso, the Ariadne (then known under the name of Cleopatra), the statue of the Empress Sallustia Barba Orbana, represented as Venus, the Commodus, the Tiberius. Under Leo X., the Nile, as well as two statues of Antinöus (who supplied a type of Raphael's Jonah), were added to these marvels of art.

The Museum of the Capitol, founded in the reign of Sixtus IV., was larger. It contained the bronze Wolf, the bronze Hercules, the Boy with the thorn in his foot, the Lion devouring a horse, the busts of the Emperors, the Sarcophagus of Julia, the two basalt sphinxes (one of which appears in the fresco of the Farnesina, *Psyche before the Assembly of the Gods*), many fragments of colossal bronze and marble statues, &c., &c. But who could describe the riches of the private collections? They formed by themselves the largest museum then existing. There was not a prelate or diplomatist, a noble or a banker, who did not seek with ardour every memento which recalled the ancient splendours of Rome—statues, reliefs, gems, medals, and inscriptions. In the first rank was the museum collected at the Palace of St. Mark by the Venetian Cardinal, Domenico Grimani.

The influence of the antique over Raphael is to be traced in three

distinct ways: by changes in his style, by his direct imitation of ancient models—paintings, bas-reliefs and statues—and by the choice of subjects borrowed from Greek and Roman mythology and history. The modifications that study of the antique made in his style are so numerous that, to describe them properly, we ought to notice, one by one, nearly every figure executed by the master. He made use of the admirable models contained in the Roman collections to give style to his draperies and greater purity to his types; to make his manner of treatment larger and nobler. They enabled him to discover that scientific basis of beauty which had previously escaped all but his intuition. In place of impressions more or less vague and personal we see him depending upon principles. Thus was the Roman school founded. Although Raphael had won admiration at Perugia, Urbino, and Florence, it was at Rome that he succeeded in founding a school.

It did not take him long to pass from general imitation to frank borrowing. Vasari has pointed out the influence that ancient art exercised over the frescoes in the *Camera della Segnatura*. In his description of the *Parnassus*, he tells us how Raphael had recourse, for the portraits of the poets represented on the famous mount, to statues, medals and ancient pictures. In painting the heads in the *School of Athens* we know that he copied one ancient portrait, probably the cameo that Castiglione was fortunate enough to become possessed of ten years later.

He imitated ancient models, much more frequently than has been hitherto believed. The head of the Homer in the *Parnassus* recalls that of the Laocoön. Calliope, in the same fresco, is taken from the Cleopatra (now called Ariadne). Raphael's borrowing is still more evident in the drawing preserved at the Albertina of Vienna; in the lower portion of the two figures the arrangement of drapery is identical. (See page 123.) The Apollo of the *School of Athens* was certainly inspired by the celebrated intaglio of Lorenzo il Magnifico, *Apollo and Marsyas*. There are in the *Cartoons*, too, numerous imitations of well-known originals. In the *Sacrifice at Lystra* the priest who raises his axe, and the victim itself, have both been copied from an antique bas-relief, which is now to be seen in the Uffizi.

The *Loggie* and the *Farnesina* are the two works of Raphael in which this looking back at the antique is most conspicuous. The discovery of the paintings in the Baths of Titus placed within the reach of himself and of his pupils an inexhaustible mine of pictorial motives. We have seen how thoroughly those mines were explored. Free borrowing also took place from the Roman collections of statues

and bas-reliefs, from the *Ephesian Diana*, the *Sacrifice of a Bull*, the *Apollo and Marsyas*. Scores of these imitations are to be found in the illustrations to the Bible. In the *Deluge*, the man who hangs on by the neck of his horse is copied from a relief on the column of Antoninus.

By force of study, Raphael familiarized himself not only with the styles and technical methods of his Greek and Roman predecessors, but also with their beliefs and fundamental ideas, and after 1508, antiquity furnished the subjects of his most brilliant compositions: for instance, the *School of Athens*, the *Parnassus*, *Apollo and Marsyas*, *Alexander depositing the Works of Homer in the Tomb of Achilles*, *Augustus Saving the Æneid from the Flames*, the *Triumph of Galatea*, the *Planets*, the *Sibyls*, the *History of Psyche*, the *History of Venus and Cupid* in Bibbiena's bathroom, the *Fates*, the *Seasons*, the *Hours* woven in the borders of the tapestries.

Many of these subjects, no doubt, were imposed upon the painter by his patrons, but many were chosen by his own free will. Among the latter must be included the numerous compositions interpreted by the burin of Marc-Antonio Raimondi. We have already had occasion to mention the superb engraving of *Lucretia*. It was followed by the *Judgment of Paris*, the *Quos Ego*, the *Pestilence*, the *Venus at the Bath*, &c. We may add to the list the beautiful drawing in the Louvre of the *Calumny of Apelles*, and the fine *Rape of Helen* in the Oxford University Collection, the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana*, and *Children playing with Apples*, in the Louvre.

In 1515, Raphael was enabled to intervene for the preservation of historic monuments in a most efficacious manner. A papal brief, bearing date August 27, 1515, gave him power, doubtless at his own request, to forbid the destruction of any ancient marbles bearing inscriptions. "Considering," writes the Pope to him, "that the stone-cutters destroy for building purposes many inscribed antique stones and marbles which it is important to preserve as aids to the development of letters, and to the preservation in its full elegance of the Latin tongue, we forbid all marble-cutters in Rome, to cut or chisel, without express permission, any stone whatever bearing an inscription, under pain of fines for those who disobey our orders."

The first part of the same brief authorizes Raphael to requisition all the materials obtained by excavation in Rome and its neighbourhood, for the building of St. Peter's, to which he had been appointed architect-in-chief but a year before. The painter, however, soon became alive to the danger that might result from encouraging these excavations too freely. The Popes have been reproached with being

Ant. sal. exc.

VENUS AT THE BATH.

(Facsimile of an Engraving by Marc-Antonio.

the cause of the ruin of many interesting monuments by permitting the *pozzolana* to be obtained from their foundations.

On the other hand, Raphael profited by the facilities which this afforded him to procure antiques for his friends. A letter from the Ferrarese *chargé d'affaires*, published by Campori (March 30, 1517), shows the artist trying to satisfy the desires of Duke Alphonso d'Este. "As for the medals, heads, and figures," writes the minister, "Raphael tells me he is attending to the instructions of your Excellency. He has begged me to leave it all to him, assuring me that he has the most trustworthy agents. He also gives me to understand that your Excellency has lately manifested a desire to become the owner of the bed of Polycrates (Polycletus?). There is one at Florence, indeed, but it is not for sale. Raphael says that there is one here which is still finer, although it is not the bed of Polycrates," &c., &c.

The painter-archæologist dispatched draughtsmen into all parts of Italy, and even into Greece, to make records of antique monuments. An engraving of the stylobate of the Theodosian column at Constantinople bears an inscription stating that the original drawing was sent to Raffaello da Urbino. A careful examination of the design for the *Battle of Constantine* has enabled M. Reiset to discover another equally interesting fact: "Several of the horses' heads in profile, which appear on the left of the picture, are copied from the frieze of Phidias. The resemblance is so great that it cannot have been fortuitous. It does not occur in the fresco itself, which was painted after Raphael's death by Giulio Romano, or in any work with which we are acquainted, either by master or scholars."

In 1518 or 1519 Raphael undertook to condense the results of his studies in a report which he delivered to the Pope, and of which we possess two different editions, the one published in 1733 by the Volpi in their edition of Castiglione's works, the other given in Passavant's *Raphael*. By this we see that he proposed to collect the measurement of every existing Roman building which had come down from antiquity, and by means of these measurements to attempt an ideal reconstruction of the great capital of the Cæsars.

The report commences with an enthusiastic panegyric upon the antique. Raphael speaks in bitterly indignant terms of the ravages committed by the Goths, the Vandals, and other enemies of the Latin race. But he does not place all the blame upon them. With an admirable courage he reminds the Pope of the excesses committed by his own predecessors. "The very men," he writes, "who should have been the special defenders of the sad remains of ancient Rome, have been the most urgent in robbing and destroying her. How

many pontiffs, oh Holy Father, endowed with the same dignity as yourself, but possessing neither your knowledge, your merit, nor your largeness of heart, have permitted the destruction of ancient temples, of statues, of triumphal arches, and other glorious monuments of the founders of our country! How many among them have allowed the foundations of antique buildings to be laid bare for the sake of the *pozzolana*, and have thus brought destruction upon them! How many antique figures and other carvings have been turned into lime! I am but saying what is true, when I declare that this modern Rome, with all its grandeur and beauty, with its churches, palaces, and other monuments, is built with the lime made from our antique marbles!"

Raphael did not take up his project for the restoration of ancient Rome single-handed. We have already spoken of Andrea Fulvio. Besides him there was the aged Fabio Calvo of Ravenna, he who translated Vitruvius for the painter. Calvo was certainly associated with Raphael in his researches into the topography of ancient Rome.

The letter of M. A. Michiel (April 11, 1520), already quoted, contains some details of great interest on the subject of Raphael's project: "Raphael's death has caused universal sorrow, especially among scientific men, for whom he was preparing a book. As Ptolemy made a map of the world, so has Raphael drawn the ancient edifices of Rome, with their shapes, proportions, and ornamentations, all represented with such clearness, that we can fancy that we see it as it was. He had already done the first region before his death. His aim was not only to give the plans of the buildings and to fix their former situations—he had personally and with extraordinary labour gathered the information which enabled him to do this—but also to restore, on paper, their façades and ornamentation, and with the help of Vitruvius to formulate the rules which had governed their erection, and generally to give descriptions as minute as ancient records and existing remains would allow."

CHAPTER XXI

RAPHAEL'S last years, though fertile in artistic production, were destitute of striking events or important changes. In 1515 he made a journey to Florence, where he took part in the *fêtes* on the entrance of Leo X., and the competition for the building of the façade of San Lorenzo. He then returned to Rome, which he was destined never

again to leave. The situation that he occupied at the pontifical court, and the favour of the Pope, were both likely to keep him in the Eternal City. During the reign of Leo X. his life was an uninterrupted series of triumphs; the artist became a "grand seigneur," and added the title of papal chamberlain to his other honours.

Unhappily for him the requirements of the Pope, to say nothing of the demands of all civilized Europe, left him no leisure to enjoy his honours in peace. From the beginning of 1515 he was besieged. He was obliged to make cartoons for frescoes, tapestries, mosaics, scenes for theatres, to paint easel-pictures and altar-pieces; to direct the works of St. Peter's, of the Loggie, and of several private palaces; to guard the antiquities of Rome, and to supply designs to silversmiths, sculptors, and engravers, without at the same time neglecting his duties as a man of the world and a courtier. Most men would have succumbed under such a burden. For several years the young artist was able to fulfil all commissions; then he suddenly broke down in the zenith of his productive power.

After the accession of Leo X. Raphael's reputation increased so fast that princes contended for the slightest sketch from his pencil. Leo X. set the example of loading him with too much work. Raphael was obliged to satisfy all his caprices, even to the point of painting life-size the elephant sent to him by the King of Portugal. He even had to prostitute his brush to political intrigue. Francis I. commissioned him to paint the *St. Margaret*, now in the *Salon carré* of the Louvre; the Italian sovereigns were equally solicitous to possess works from his hand. Among the most pressing was Alphonso d'Este, husband of Lucrezia Borgia, whose entreaties at last degenerated into persecution.

Raphael seems to have been presented to the Duke in 1513, by Ariosto. In 1517 the painter was buying antiques for him, while preparing for his acceptance a picture representing the triumph of Bacchus in India. He had already sent him a sketch of the composition when he learned that an artist of the Duke's court, Pellegrino da Udine, was treating the same subject. He proposed another, for which he received fifty ducats on account. The same year he presented the Duke with the cartoon of the *History of Leo III.* From the beginning of 1518 Alphonso begins to press the artist, who tries to gain time. "Raffaello da Urbino," writes the Ferrarese envoy (March 1, 1518), "still seeks excuse. He will not have finished your Excellency's picture until Easter. He cannot keep at it owing to the portraits and designs which the Pope and his Highness the Duke (Lorenzo de' Medici) give him to do. A *Saint Michael*, life-size, has

been ordered by his Holiness, as a present to his Most Christian Majesty, and that picture absorbs nearly all his attention. It must be finished as soon as possible. Nevertheless I am most pressing in my entreaties to him." Raphael presents him with the cartoon of his *Saint Michael* as a sop to his impatience, thus giving proof of the delicacy and generosity of his character. The envoy writes (November 20, 1518): "I thanked him for his cartoon and assured him that your Excellency had been delighted to receive it. I then offered him the twenty-five crowns that your Excellency charged me to give him. With great delicacy he objected to take them, declaring that he had sent the cartoon out of devotion and respect for your person. He is full of courtesy, and assured me several times that he was more disposed to satisfy your Excellency than to please the whole court here. He took the money at last, with many thanks to your Excellency."

The Duke, encouraged by these gifts, demanded and obtained the cartoon for *Joanna of Aragon* as well. But he did not forget his picture, and continued to torment the artist, who appeased him for a time with excuses and promises. For three years he was successfully put off, but at last his patience gave way. "Go to Raphael," he writes to his ambassador on September 10, 1519, "and tell him that three years have passed since he gave his promise, and that this is not the way in which those of my rank should be treated. If he does not carry out his engagement, we will teach him that it is not advisable to deceive us. You can add, as coming from yourself, that it would be well not to change the affection we bear him into ill-will. If he keeps his promise he can count on us; if not he may be sure that one day he will regret his failure."

We must go back to the quarrel between Julius II. and Michael Angelo to find a sovereign prince thus honouring an artist by losing his temper with him. Raphael succeeded, however, in appeasing the Duke's choler, and the latter made a strange use of the claim the delay had given him. On the 20th of March, 1520, his envoy tells him that he has had a long discussion with Raphael as to how his Highness's chimneys are to be prevented from smoking! and that he will send him plans for necessary alterations immediately! Sixteen days later the painter was dead.

The sequel to the story of the Duke's relations with Raphael does not redound much to the honour of Alphonso d'Este. Not having received the picture he had commissioned, he demanded the fifty crowns back that he had paid on account, and did not desist until he had obtained them from the artist's heirs, who did not spare him the

expression of their contempt for conduct so unworthy. The Marchesa Isabella di Mantua was more courteous than her brother Alphonso, but no less persistent.

If Raphael was unable to fulfil the desires of powerful rulers, how could mere prelates expect to be attended to? He told the Cardinal Gregorio Cortese, who asked him to paint one of the walls of the refectory of San Polidoro, at Modena, that it was impossible for him to leave Rome without very exceptional payment. The cardinal found that the undertaking would cost him at least a thousand ducats. He therefore went to another artist, who was content with three hundred. "If I cannot get Apelles," he said to console himself, "I shall be content with Parrhasius."

The nuns of Monteluce, for whom Raphael had begun a *Coronation of the Virgin* in 1505, returned also to the charge about this time. By a contract, dated June 21, 1516, of which the original is exhibited among the MSS. in the Louvre, Raphael agrees to let them have the picture in a year. He was to receive 120 ducats for the picture itself, exclusive of the predella, frame, &c., which were entrusted to the painter Berto di Giovanni, of Perugia. The nuns proposed to pay him a part of the money as soon as the work should be commenced, a further sum when it should be half-finished, and the remainder on its delivery to them. But Raphael replied that he had determined to take no more payments on account, and that, with the exception of twenty ducats which he had received as retainer, he would look for his payment only when the work should be finished. All these promises were doubtless sincere at the time they were made. But enterprises more urgent claimed his attention, and the *Coronation of the Virgin* remained unfinished until 1525, when it was completed from his designs by Giulio Romano and Il Fattore. Both this *Coronation* and that of 1503 are now in the Gallery of the Vatican.

Raphael was grateful for the admiration of powerful sovereigns and lovers of art, but much more touched by the crowds of pupils who flocked to his studio from all parts of Italy, and even from foreign lands. Never since the time of Squarcione had any master founded a larger or more brilliant school. When the painter walked in the streets of Rome he was surrounded by an escort of fifty young men.[1]

[1] The studio was organized on such a large scale, that when Raphael was in want of more colours he sent a pupil to Venice expressly to buy them. (Document published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1863, t. i. p. 356.) Other pupils were commissioned to make drawings of antique monuments in central and southern Italy, and even in Greece. Others, notably Vincidore, accompanied the Cartoons to Brussels and superintended the weaving of them.

Vasari's story to this effect is corroborated by Lomazzo, who has handed down to us Michael Angelo's famous "You go about surrounded like a general." Official documents also confirm the story. We had some trouble to discover the names of more than eight or ten painters in all Rome upon Raphael's first arrival in that city. In 1535, fifteen years after the death of Raphael, the corporation of St. Luke consisted of no fewer than a hundred and eighty. To notice Raphael's scholars would be to write the history of Italian art in the seventeenth century. The School of Raphael was his family.

We must now speak of a subject which we have hitherto avoided, but which cannot be passed over in silence—his relations with the Fornarina. Nearly all that we know about her is contained in a few lines of Vasari. "Marc-Antonio executed a certain number of engravings for Raphael, which he handed over to Baviera, one of the master's scholars. This man had charge of a woman whom Raphael loved to death, of whom the master painted a very beautiful portrait, which appeared no less than alive; this portrait is now in Florence, in the possession of Matteo Botti." Again: "Raphael painted the portrait of Beatrix d'Esté, and of other women, among them his own mistress." "Raphael, like a good Christian, sent away his mistress before making his will, but gave her enough to keep her in comfort." Finally, Vasari tells us that Chigi besought the painter's mistress to install herself in his villa, that her presence might induce Raphael to push on to completion the pictures upon which he was engaged in that famous building.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the possessor of a copy of Vasari wrote upon the margin of one of the pages in which the "mistress" of Raphael is mentioned, that her name was Margarita. As for the name Fornarina (bakeress), it was never heard of till the eighteenth century. We have already noticed the portrait of the so-called Fornarina at the Palazzo Barberini, and the copy executed in fresco by Giulio Romano on one of the ceilings of the Villa Lante.

We know that Baviera was an artist. In a contract executed in November 1515, in the name of his master, "Baverius Charocii de Parma," he describes himself as "Pictor." Baviera makes use of the same title at the foot of a letter dated April 27, 1518. (Towards the end of the reign of Leo X., one "Baviera, Pictor da Bologna," lived in the Campo Marzo, in the parish of St. Trifonio.)

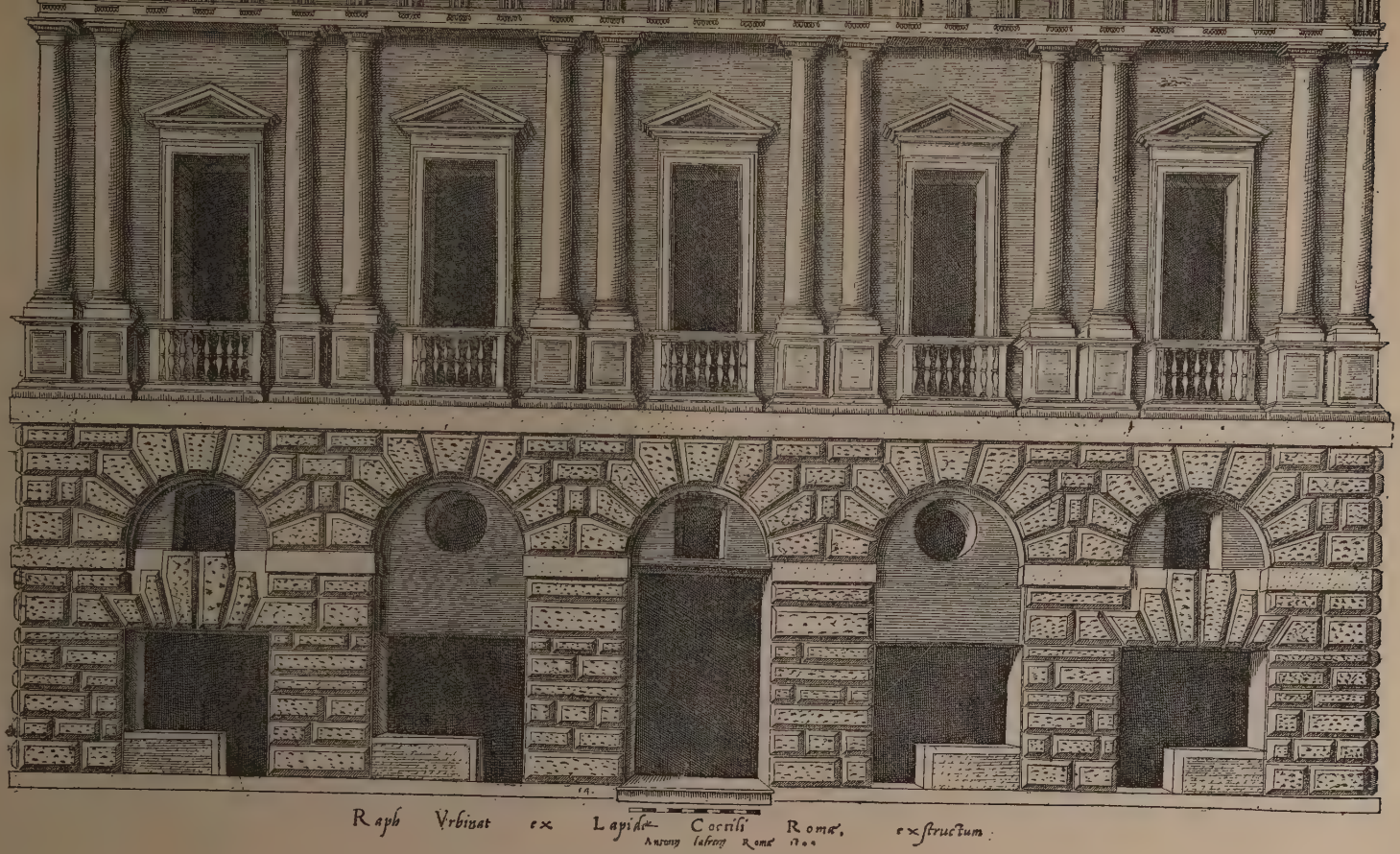
Our study of Raphael's home-life would not be complete did we fail to cast a glance upon the palazzo, in the Borgo Nuovo, in which he lived for so many years and died.

In the valuable letter published by Morelli, Marc-Antonio Michiel di ser Vettor says that Raphael bought the palazzo from Bramante, paying for it the sum of 3000 golden ducats. Michiel adds that the painter left it at his death to Cardinal Bibbiena. The former of these assertions has been confirmed by the researches of M. de Geymüller. We now know for certain that the palazzo was not the work of Raphael, as Passavant believed, but of Bramante. It is said that Raphael soon began to find himself straitened for means in his new residence. Both his position at the papal court and the interests of his art imposed upon him heavy expenses. As soon as he had acquired that position he was surrounded by numerous assistants and pupils, for all of whom, according to the custom of that age, he was obliged to find board, if not lodging also. Vasari says that Giulio Romano, Penni, and Fabio Calvo, of Ravenna, lived in the master's house. It is therefore not improbable that the joint author of *Il Buonarroti* is right when he tells us that as early as 1515 Raphael found himself obliged to buy, for 200 golden ducats, a house in the Via Sistina, Borgo, belonging to the architect Perino de' Gennari da Caravaggio. A little later the painter was again obliged to extend his accommodation, and hired several houses belonging to the brothers Porcari in the Via Alessandrina.

Raphael had it in contemplation, a short time before his death, to build himself a real palace. He had fixed upon a site in the Via Giulia, near the church of San Giovanni Fiorentino, and not far from the Vatican, though on the opposite bank of the Tiber. We may here give the words of the notary who drew up the agreement:

"March 24th, 1520. The canons of St. Peter's confirm the assignment to Raphael of Urbino, painter, of the rights granted to Leonardo Bartolini, over a plot of ground belonging to the said chapter. This plot is situated near the church of St. Blasius 'della Pagnotta,' in the district of the Bridge. It is bounded by streets on all sides, and measures 217½ *canne*, Roman measure. This assignment is one of a perpetual lease, on the sole condition that the said Raphael there build himself a house for his own in-dwelling. In case the building was not erected within five years, the whole site was to revert to the chapter. The annual rent was fixed at eighty ducats, ten carlini, payable on the *festa* of SS. Peter and Paul." We may guess that the project in question was of considerable importance, since the ground-rent alone was eighty ducats. At the period in question the Via Giulia was considered the best quarter in Rome, and was the favourite district of great patricians, prelates, and rich painters.

The date of this agreement is March 24, 1520; on the 6th of the



THE PALACE OF RAPHAEL AND BRAMANTE.
(Facsimile of an old Engraving.)

following month the painter expired. We may thus see how far any thought of death was from his mind.

The story of Raphael's last moments is still very obscure. The account given by Vasari—friend of the friends and pupils of the master though he was, and warm, sympathetic, and eloquent as is his history of Raphael's life—is now universally discredited. It is certain that if his death was hastened by excess, it was by excess of work. The most vigorous organization could hardly fail to succumb under his prodigious efforts—efforts, too, which were renewed day after day. In the portrait by Marc-Antonio, we see Raphael enveloped in his mantle and shivering with cold, his palette and paint-cups beside him; perhaps he was then feeling the first approach of the illness which was to prove so rapidly fatal. That illness was short indeed. On March 20 he promised the envoy of the Duke of Ferrara the drawings for his smoky chimneys; on April 6 he was dead, and the envoy wrote to his master: "Raphael da Urbino, è morto di una febre continua e acuta, che già octo giorni l'assaltò."

From the very beginning of the attack anxiety was great at the papal court. The Pope, as Marc-Antonio tells us, sent more than six times to ask how he fared and to convey consolations.

Rapid though the course of his illness was, Raphael found strength to put his affairs in order. His will furnishes us with additional evidence of the spirit of justice and benevolence which guided his slightest acts. None of his friends were forgotten, and to each he left that which would be most in accordance with his individual preference or necessities.

His fortune, which amounted to 16,000 ducats, or about £32,000 at the present value of money, was thus divided: his sketches, pictures, all that constituted his artistic property, became the heritage of his two favourite pupils, Giulio Romano and Gian-Francesco Penni, burdened only with the injunction that they should complete his unfinished works. Each of his servants received 300 golden ducats. The land purchased but a few days before was divided between his cousin Antonio Battiferro of Urbino, who received 100 *canne*, and his friend the goldsmith, Antonio da San-Marino, who received 117½ *canne*. A sum of 1000 crowns was devoted to the purchase of a house, with which the Pantheon chapel founded by the painter was endowed. Raphael forgot neither his own family nor the young girl he had so passionately loved. Finally, he chose for his executors his friends Baldassare Turini and Giovan-Battista dell' Aquila.

Raphael died on Good Friday, on the anniversary of his birth,

between nine and ten in the evening. He was but thirty-seven years of age.

The grief of Rome, and of all Italy, was great. Leo X., according to Vasari, wept bitter tears. The men of those superstitious days struck by the coincidence of his sudden death with the appearance of ominous cracks in the Loggie, thought the latter a portent from heaven: "For the last few days," writes Michiel, "the papal palace has threatened to fall, and His Holiness has been driven to install himself in Cardinal Cibo's apartments. Men say that the accident is not caused by the weight of the galleries, but that it is a celestial presage of the death of him who painted their decorations." The same notion reappears in a letter from the Mantuan Minister, and in the sonnet of Tebaldeo.

The letter of the Mantuan envoy to Isabella Gonzaga gives us touching evidence of the regrets excited by Raphael's untimely death:

"To the most Illustrious and Excellent Lady, the DUCHESS of MANTUA, etc., etc.

"Although in these holy days one thinks of nothing but confession and the other exercises of piety, I cannot refrain from presenting my respects to your Excellency. I have, however, no news to give you but that of the death of Raphael of Urbino, who ceased to live last night, that is, the night of Good Friday, leaving behind the immense and unanimous regret of the whole court caused by the ruin of all the hopes founded upon him; which, had they been realized, would have been the glory of our century. Every one says that the greatest things might have been hoped from him, judging both from the works which he had already finished, and from the still greater enterprises which he had commenced. The heavens themselves announced his death by one of the signs which attended the death of Christ, when the rocks opened, *Lapides scissi sunt.* The Pope's palace is so cracked that it threatens to fall. His Holiness, frightened at this, has deserted his own apartments and betaken himself to the palace constructed by Innocent VIII. Here they talk of nothing except the death of this good man, which has terminated, at the end of his thirty-third year, his first existence. His second life—his fame—will be subject neither to time nor death; it will endure for ever, thanks to his own works and to the pens of the learned men who will write his praises. There will be no lack of materials. . . . The said Raphael was honourably buried in the Rotunda, where a monument is to be raised to him, at a cost of a

thousand ducats. He left a sum for the endowment of the chapel in which his tomb is placed ; besides which he has given three hundred ducats to each of his servants. We heard yesterday from Florence that Michael Angelo is ill.

"Rome, April 7, 1520.

"From the ever faithful servant of your most illustrious and most excellent Ladyship,

"PANDOLFO DE' PICI DE LA MIRANDOLO."

The body of the painter was shown to the public in his studio, by the side of his unfinished *Transfiguration.* All the artists of Rome followed him to the grave. The greatest poets of Italy hastened to interpret the public grief. Bembo, Ariosto, Tebaldeo, and Castiglione, all sang of the lost painter, archæologist, and friend.[1]

Raphael wished to be buried in that Pantheon which he had so greatly admired. A simple slab of marble, let into the wall, marks the place where the greatest of painters was laid. The eloquent and famous epitaph by Bembo runs as follows—

D . O . M .
RAPHAELI . SANCTIO . IOANN . F . VRBINATI
PICTORI . EMINENTISS . VETERVMQ . ÆMVLO
CVIVS . SPIRANTES . PROPE . IMAGINES . SI
CONTEMPLERE . NATVRÆ . ATQVE . ARTIS . FŒDVS
FACILE . INSPEXERIS
IVLII II . ET LEONIS X . PONT . MAXX . PICTVRÆ
ET . ARCHITECT . OPERIBVS . GLORIAM . AVXIT
VIX . ANNOS . XXXVII . INTEGER . INTEGROS
QVO . DIE . NATVS . EST . EO . ESSE . DESIIT
VIII . ID . APRILIS . MDXX
ILLE HIC EST RAPHAEL TIMVIT QVO SOSPITE VINCI
RERVM MAGNA PARENS ET MORIENTE MORI.

[1] A letter addressed by Castiglione to his mother on July 20, 1520, shows us how great was the grief he felt : "I am in good health," he writes, "but I can hardly believe that I am in Rome now that my poor Raphael (*il mio poveretto Rafaello*) is gone. May God receive his blessed soul !" (*Lettere*, ed. Serassi, t. i. p. 74.)

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